SOVIET MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

by XENIA BELOUSSOVA

NEW MASSES

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THERE IS A GUN POINTING AT YOU

BY THE EDITORS

REMEMBERING JOHN REED

by JOHN STUART

ALL-AMERICAN COUNCILMAN

The story of Ben Davis by ABNER W. BERRY

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Behind the London Conference, by The Editors; New Paths for Psychoanalysis, by Joseph Wortis.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

ONE of our very young friends—very young indeed, since he's just beginning to talk and has a pretty tough time making sentences out of words (he should see some of his elders' attempts) impressed us a great deal recently. The one sentence Davey has pieced together—and it has really taken hold of him—is "I see you." Now, offhand, that combination of three words might be the attempt of any tot trying to put together the first part of a vocabulary. On the other hand, not the off one, it is pork and beans for thought.

Davey said, "I see you," at the ghostly hour of six when his parents, according to him, should have been up and at breakfast. Later, on the front porch, when a little boy a few years older snitched his ball, Davey didn't cry. He sat down rather suddenly on his tiny rump and said, "I see you."

We lived about thirty-six hours with Davey, his grin, and his swell disposition. And somehow we thought a good bit about his, "I see you," the way in which he used it and the reasons thereof. We concluded he was okay, not only because he was a swell kid, but because those three words he pieced together and the way he used them are representative of something many people feel. People who are much older and mature, who have problems to face now—economically, socially, in every way one has to face them after a war. Those people are saying to the Rankins, the Bilbos, the Tafts: "I see you." They are saying it in any number of ways—with protests to their Congressmen, in neighborhood group meetings, in collective action everywhere. They have looked behind the mask of what demagogues proclaim is democratic government, and they will see that the covering is torn and the real thing emerges. Veterans, former war workers, those other citizens who stayed on the home front will have something in common with Davey—when the ball is taken away temporarily, they will say, "I see you," and tears will not appear, but unlike Davey, who isn't old enough yet to pick himself up too fast, they'll be on their feet in a hurry.

THE response to our request for library subs has been really swell. More and more libraries too have written in, asking for subs to NM, and apologizing because they can't subscribe on account of their limited budget. Better than that, readers answered quickly, and offered to donate the five dollars necessary for any library anywhere. But, you know—it's the old story. We still haven't half enough donors to fill the bill, and we still feel the magazine should be in more and more libraries. Recently we mentioned several libraries which couldn't afford another magazine. Promptly, we received subscriptions for them. You can afford five dollars a year for your own subscription. Think of the people who can't. Maybe you don't like some of the regional novels about the South, the Middlewest, the North, and backward communities you never visited. But maybe, too, the people who wrote about them, in certain instances knew what they were talking about—maybe it's just that hard to get any kind of decent week-to-week reading material. We decided, after almost a year away, that New York livers are a trifle smug about such things, and it no doubt goes for other big cities in the East, particularly. So don't be a smug bug—send your subs now for a library—somewhere, if not in your own community.

A WARNING—which is not so premature. *Do not forget to register* for the city elections. Much is at stake, and every qualified voter must get out and cast a ballot. Remember, registration takes place from October 8-13. If you don't know where to go in your particular neighborhood, check with your local election board. Registration hours are from 5 PM to 10:30 PM, Monday through Friday, and on Saturday, 7AM to 10 PM.

Further warning: The locations of a number of polling places have been changed. Be sure you check to make sure that you know where to vote, especially if you have just moved.

The recent antics of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are enough to convince any sensible person of the necessity for electing truly democratic candidates. Don't forget the all-important job of adding your vote to the total in order to insure the kind of city government we must have. M. DE A.

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THIS GUN IS POINTED AT YOU

and millions like you — Americans all. It is not the gun of the German Nazis or the Japanese Samurai or the Italian Fascists. It is the gun of American fascism. And the hand on the trigger is the new Dies comittee which operates under the trade name of House Committee on un-American Activities.

One of the first acts of the Nazis when they came into power was to contrive the Reichstag fire frameup against the Communists and use it to terrorize the voters in the March 1933 election. The new Dies committee, headed by Rep. John S. Wood of Georgia and dominated by the unspeakable Rankin of Mississippi—both from states where free elections do not exist—has, borrowing a Nazi leaf, intervened in the New York City election in an effort to coerce the voters. And as in Germany, the device used is an attack on the Communists. By summoning to Washington last week Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Negro leader and member of the Communist Party national board, the committee nakedly revealed that one of its prime objectives is to influence the New York election in which Davis is again a candidate for the city council.

But America is not yet Germany. Davis' vigorous protest at the opening of the hearing and the committee's fear that its tactic would boomerang caused it to retreat and postpone indefinitely the questioning of the New York councilman. However, the heirs of Martin Dies have by no means abandoned their witch-hunt. Hearings are scheduled to resume October 17, at which time William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, will be called to testify.

Last week's grilling of Earl Browder, former president of the Communist Political Association, and Jack Stachel, member of the national board of the Communist Party, revealed a further objective of the committee: to prepare the ground for outlawing the Communists as an "international conspiracy" directed at the United States. The committee, however, derived small comfort from the testimony of either Stachel or Browder. Instead, both committee members and counsel repeatedly exposed their monumental ignorance of the subjects they were supposed to be investigating.

Reading the stupidities of Rankin, Wood and the counsel, Ernest Adamson, one may be tempted to laugh them off as circus clowns trying to pass as serious statesmen. Or one might conclude that the committee is gunning for the Reds and this is of no concern to most Americans. Both these conclusions are dangerously wrong.

Fascism always aims at minorities in order to hit the majority. Sometimes the minorities are called Communists, sometimes Jews, sometimes Negroes, sometimes Catholics, but the larger purpose is always there. The bloody history of the past dozen years has proved this to the hilt.

In 1938 Martin Dies started by assaulting Communists and alleged Communists. But before long he was sticking his jackboot into the Michigan election, smearing a Democrat, Governor (now Supreme Court Justice) Frank Murphy—an act for which his committee was denounced by the late President Roosevelt. In 1945, after the American people had repudiated Dies and retired him and several of his committee members to private life, his successors have raised again the Dies banner of political Ku Kluxism and revived his Gestapo methods. And at the opening of their latest inquisition they have shown which way this foul wind blows by demanding of President Truman that he turn over to them the personnel and security records of all temporary war agencies. As one of the committee members, Rep. Karl Mundt of South Dakota, told NEW MASSES' Washington editor, Virginia Gardner, in a recent interview: "Our committee doesn't deal with what is legal or illegal—un-Americanism can be perfectly legal."

What, then, is un-Americanism? Is asking for a thirty percent wage increase un-American? Is demanding more adequate unemployment insurance un-American? Is opposition to anti-Semitism and

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Negro-baiting un-American? If what Foster and Davis stand for can be branded as un-American, what trade unionist is safe? What sincere liberal and anti-fascist? In the Dies-Rankin dictionary the very purposes for which the war was fought and the deepest aspirations of the American people become un-American.

And what about the real un-Americans? Why is the committee shielding men like Gerald L. K. Smith, Robert R. Reynolds, Carl Mote, Joe McWilliams and other fifth columnists? Why does it refuse to investigate the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nationalist Party and similar subversive groups?

It is clear that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is itself part of the conspiracy against America. It is conspiring against the liberties and living standards of the American people. It is the legislative arm of those who have incited anti-Negro clashes in the factories and schools and attacks on Jewish stores and synagogues. Its synthetic Red scare is designed to divide and weaken the labor movement at the very moment when it is engaged in combatting a new depression by efforts to maintain the purchasing power of the nation. This Goebbels tactic also aims to help the monopolists by frightening the middle classes away from cooperation with labor for common democratic ends. And its purpose is to foment hostility toward our Soviet ally whose friendship is essential for the peace and prosperity of our country.

The lines are familiar and many of the actors have appeared before, but America and the world have not stood still. The military defeat of fascism in Europe and Asia is a gigantic fact. The democratic power of socialist Russia and the rise of democracy in Europe and Asia is a gigantic fact. The strength and political alertness of American labor is a gigantic fact. The vision that has opened for millions who fought the fascist enemy on the battle front and millions who fought him on the home front, of a land in which the Four Freedoms and the Economic Bill of Rights are the heritage of all Americans—this too is a gigantic fact. And in all of this lies gigantic potential strength for the people.

You who read this can help strike the gun from the hand of the fascist enemy at home. Write Rep. John S. Wood and your own Congressman insisting that the subpoenas against the Communist leaders be revoked, that the shameful un-American committee be abolished and that instead a genuine investigation of fascist individuals and groups be launched. Get your neighbors and friends to do likewise. Have the organizations to which you belong pass resolutions along these lines. There is enough power in our country to stop this witch-hunt in its tracks before it gets fully under way. Don't let Hitlerism get a foothold in Washington after it has been smashed in Berlin.

ALL-AMERICAN COUNCILMAN

By ABNER W. BERRY

IT ISN'T hard to understand why people say: "We're voting for ourselves when we vote for Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr."

New York's only Negro councilman is a symbol of what the people want, what they want to be, what they *are*. One of his first acts in the City Council was to fight Jim Crow in housing and to win restrictions on its future operations. New York had been stunned to learn that the Metropolitan Insurance Company was constructing the Stuyvesant Housing Project, aided by the city, for the exclusive use of white tenants. Davis' bill prohibiting aid to further projects which discriminate against any person because of race, creed or national origin is one of his proudest accomplishments.

Being a Negro the fight against racism and Jim Crow are not new to him. When he was nineteen he faced an Atlanta court for not standing in a street car when there were seats in the so-called "white section." Before he got to court the police had roughed him up, but he stood his ground. His father paid a fifty-dollar fine and young Davis was free, but he never forgot the incident. His battle for a city Fair Employment Practices Commission is based as much on his knowledge that human beings are degraded and personalities are distorted by inequalities as it is buttressed by a broad knowledge of politics and social science. The fight for equality is a part of his life. It wasn't discovered as a candidate for the council.

He ran up against Jim Crow on the campus at Amherst University, where he earned his A.B. degree in 1924. During his high school years in Georgia he had become well known for his skill at football and tennis and his virtuosity on the violin. When he came to Amherst he was not sure that he didn't want to make music his career. The music clubs on the campus, however, were not so uncertain. They barred him from membership. He thereupon floored the racists by serving as concertmaster for a joint Amherst-Mt. Holyoke Symphony Orchestra in a series of concerts.

When Davis was barred from the school's tennis team (he had been a ranking tennis player in Georgia) because of possible objections by Southern white opponents, he concentrated on football and won the all-Eastern citation for tackle in 1923. "During the summer of 1923," Ben relates, "I met Paul Robeson in New York. Paul was already famous at Rutgers. I sought pointers from him and give him much of the credit for my showing on the field."

It is from many of his own experiences as an athlete who suffered from Jim Crow practices that Davis draws much of his indignation against Jim Crow in organized baseball. He has seen that it not only hurts the Negro players but robs the sport fans of an opportunity to see the best in the game.

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That's why Ben is pushing his own bill for a municipal FEPC and pressing for action by the New York State FEPC.

"I'm not just a Harlem councilman, nor am I just a Negro councilman," he explains. "I'm the Manhattan councilman and I must look out for all of the borough. The problems of the Negroes and of Harlem cannot be solved in isolation from those of the rest of the population."

WHEN Ben says that he's talking from experience. In 1931, after three years out of Harvard Law School and a fling at newspaper work, he hung out his shingle in Atlanta. It was the year of the great depression, hunger marches, apple-selling and demonstrations. No mass of prospective clients made their way to the young lawyer's office. But before long news reached him that a young Negro had been arrested for having led an unemployed demonstration. The Negro had defied the court even as he was being sentenced to the electric chair under a barbaric pre-Civil War statute. Angelo Herndon was the young Negro's name. Ben volunteered as his lawyer while Herndon was in the death house. His first case.

Ben's first client was without a fee, but he says that he got more from that case than any lawyer could hope for. He discovered a new world. In this world Negroes didn't stand alone. There was for him now not one black America and one white America; America became a unity of black and white, a world-becoming, to be fought for and to be won. The Herndon case was a challenge to the Jim Crow under which he had chafed; and he discovered the secret of Herndon's defiance. Herndon was a Communist. Davis became one.

Ben's work in the Herndon and Scottsboro cases taught him that only part of the defense is in the court room. He learned to try cases before the court and to try prejudices of the court before the people.

These lessons carry over into his work in the New York City Council to which he was elected in November 1943. He is no one-day-a-week Councilman (the Council meets on Tuesdays). He and his office put in a full, six-day week. A soldier unjustly arrested in Ohio writes to his mother in New York. The arrest is brought to the attention of Ben who in turn contacts the proper authorities, and before long mother and soldier son are in the councilman's office with thanks. A young man fired because of prejudice from a plant in Brooklyn calls on the councilman and asks his aid. A phone call to the employer reinstates the worker. Tenants turn to him when chiseling landlords refuse to decorate or otherwise service rundown apartments. A visit from the councilman or his representative almost always gets results. A persistent rumor spreads that the OPA office in Harlem is about to close, leaving the area wide open to black market operators. Ben summons leaders of Harlem organizations and arranges a conference with OPA officials. Result: the OPA office remains open.

There is nothing formal or legalistic about Big Ben, as Rankin and Wood of the congressional "Un-American Committee" have found out. Summoned before this committee last week Ben cut through its red tape and spoke the people's piece to Rankin. The people won —temporarily at least—as the committee decided to postpone indefinitely its grilling of Davis, though it will continue its witch-hunt against the Communists.

Ben says he was attracted to the labor movement during his student days although he had not been connected with the movement directly. At Moorhouse College, a Negro school near Atlanta which he attended before going to Amherst, he led a student strike against harsh discipline. For that he was expelled but subsequently reinstated. In his father's newspaper, the *Atlanta Independent*, he defended the student strikers at Fisk University. In an adjoining column his father opposed the strikers and chided the opinions of the son. The same positions were taken when the Boston police went on strike. Young Ben held to his convictions and his father allowed him to express them in the news column.

There is a straight line from Ben, the student, to Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the councilman. The student fought with the weapons at hand against injustice where he saw it; the councilman sees injustices more clearly and concentrates more persistently on labor problems. His resolution, recently passed by the City Council, calling on the War Labor Board to grant wage increases to maritime workers, is just one bit of evidence of this. "It would be a tragedy," he insists, "for the Negro people to become isolated from the labor movement. Both labor and the Negroes would be the losers."

Davis' supporters point with pride to his educational background and the great practical training he brings to his post. Davis, in turn, has placed his knowledge and training at the disposal of the people. He has caused the removal from the city schools of textbooks expounding racist theories; he introduced a successful resolution in the council commemorating "Negro History Week"; he keeps vigil, uncommon to councilmen, over the cultural heritage and achievements of the people.

DAVIS' career has been a severe critique of those well-born Negroes who preferred to take things easy. In 1903, the year he was born, his father, Benjamin J. Davis, Sr., was a prominent publisher and Republican politician, and fairly well-to-do. Young Ben didn't experience the poverty of many Negro youths: a good home, good schools and travel were his. But he was sensitive. He learned early to hate the Jim Crow system and to see that it could be fought only by numbers. No "talented tenth" theory for him. He found that his tennis skill, his mastery of the violin, his football exploits and his degrees were not in themselves a solution to the problem. He found where the real answers lie. And because he has acted on his beliefs, and acted with superb effectiveness, he has won the respect and love of thousands, Negro and white, who do not share his political faith.

Ben Davis' campaign committee reads like a *Who's Who* of Negro America, of the labor and progressive movement. His supporters cut across party lines, from the Republican New York *Age* through the New Deal Chicago *Defender* to the *Daily Worker*. The Artists, Writers and Professional Division of his committee with over 1,000 members includes, besides Paul Robeson as chairman, such men and women as Margaret Webster, Lena Horne, Jose Ferrer, Olin Downes, Hazel Scott, Leonard Bernstein, Hilda Simms, Edward Chodorov, Betty Comden, Adolph Green, Howard Bay, Fritz Mahler, Sono Osato, Max Weber, Crockett Johnson, Dean Dixon, Howard Fast, Doris Humphrey, Walter Pach, Marc Blitzstein, Langston Hughes and others.

As a member of the National Board of the Communist Party Davis is frequently Red-baited. In reply he tells his audiences: "I am a Negro, I am an American, and I am a Communist. I am proud of all three."

The Boston *Chronicle*, a Negro newspaper, wrote this striking characterization of Big Ben in 1943: "A clock, Big Ben, strikes the hour for parliamentary democracy in London, but our very human Big Ben will guard the interests of all the little people of the great city of New York."

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REMEMBERING JOHN REED

By JOHN STUART

JOHN REED's life writes itself. Few men who have lived so earnestly, with such superb exuberance and whose eyes consumed so much of the stuff of history, have left a more complete record of themselves. Yet it is not diaries that tell his story or even the verse or the letters and books he left behind. They are there. Each poem is a facet of his personality; each letter the key to a mood or an incident; each of the articles an impression of what he saw at the moment he saw it. But they will not delineate the full man. They will not tell you why, twenty-five years after his death, he is deeply etched in the American conscience, why he became the symbol, for a whole younger generation, of the fusion of the writer and the man of action, the observer of history and a maker of it. For every passing year has found his stature at a higher peak and no one can think of Reed without thinking that in death he is as vital as he was in life.

There are values that can be placed on John Reed's life. There is the ethical value. He was scrupulously honest; and in the estate of journalism where he functioned that can be acclaimed as a singular distinction. There is the literary value. He was a first-rate writer—perhaps with no peer in journalism at the time he wrote and hardly any since. There is the psychological value, for his was a richly integrated personality that could not be shattered under the most brutal pressures. These are values that have made many figures memorable, but they are not the only ones that shape generations and illuminate their drift.

For my generation John Reed has meant the affirmation of life, its joyousness, its color and, above all, its control for something better than what there is now. These are abstractions, but they can be used to generalize the particular. Reed, whatever the infinite gyrations of the thirty-three years that he lived, was in constant rebellion against the unjust. But it was not a blind, private rebellion in which the rebel is more often crushed than crushing. He started that way, but he learned that only in comradeship with others could his own strength reach its greatest utility. Reed discovered the working class and in the process lost his illusions about his own class—illusions which pursued him, slowed his drive forward until he outpaced them when he became a Communist. Reed shook hands with the future then and reached the summit of his achievement in a great book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. In the Russian Revolution and in its director, Lenin, Reed saw the pageant of tomorrow—

Sketch of John Reed, by Hugo Gellert. Reed will be honored at an NM Cultural Review October 12. See page 31.

the pageant which he so loved and for which he gave his life.

Many snarling and snivelling things have been said of Reed since his death in Moscow in 1920. The things that have been said of him will always be said so long as there are classes in friction and so long as there are enemies of progress. They said, Max Eastman among them, that he repudiated his Communist convictions. They have no proof, they merely say it because Jack Reed is their bitter conscience. They are settling a score and Max Eastman, that philosophic troubador of piffle and fraud, never forgave Reed when he challenged Eastman's integrity in compromising with the war terrorists of 1918. Reed repudiated nothing but the men who shirked their responsibilities to the labor movement and to the cause of socialism. If Reed wanted to sell out there was more than one opportunity. He withstood the pain and anguish of pennilessness after he had tasted the enormous rewards from writing for the big newspapers and periodicals. He could have ambled along with the "socialists" who wrote for the *Metropolitan* magazine, subsidized by the millionaire, Harry Payne Whitney, who saw the radicalism of Morris Hillquit and Walter Lippmann as a clever way of expanding profits. Reed could have had his fortune, his neat pile, could have gained the plaudits of the Harvard elite—he could have, but he did not choose to. He went through the Paterson textile strike, the upheaval in Petrograd, and Reed knew what side he was on.

He came out of the roaring West and he came East to conquer the world, to put it in his back pocket. He was boisterous, full of pranks. There he stood six feet high, with greenish-brown eyes, with his hair straying over his head. At Harvard, he behaved like thousands of other college boys before him. He had a longing to write and what he wrote for the Harvard *Lampoon* and the *Monthly* was not too important or outstanding among the thousands of things other undergraduates have written. But they were important to Reed and they are an index to some of the bitterness he felt towards the Harvard aristocrats who pushed him around. He too was an aristocrat—but from Oregon; he had mud on his boots and the Harvard upper gentry found him a little too unconventional to meet the rigid standards of the Back Bay Brahmins. Reed's resentment was deep and he satirized the cookie pushers and their dainty parties in poems and in editorials. There was some satisfaction in that, although it did not quiet his eagerness to be among the aristocrats and to have a million dollars. A duality he shared with others hung on to him for a few years after Harvard and instead of being split between the pull of his instincts against sham and the hunger for the kudos of the top crust, he in the end made his choice.

HE MADE his choice, and it was the people that he chose. He saw them in Mexico when he slashed across the desert with Pancho Villa's troops. He saw them in New York down at the docks, in Chinatown, on the East Side, in Little Italy; he saw them in the

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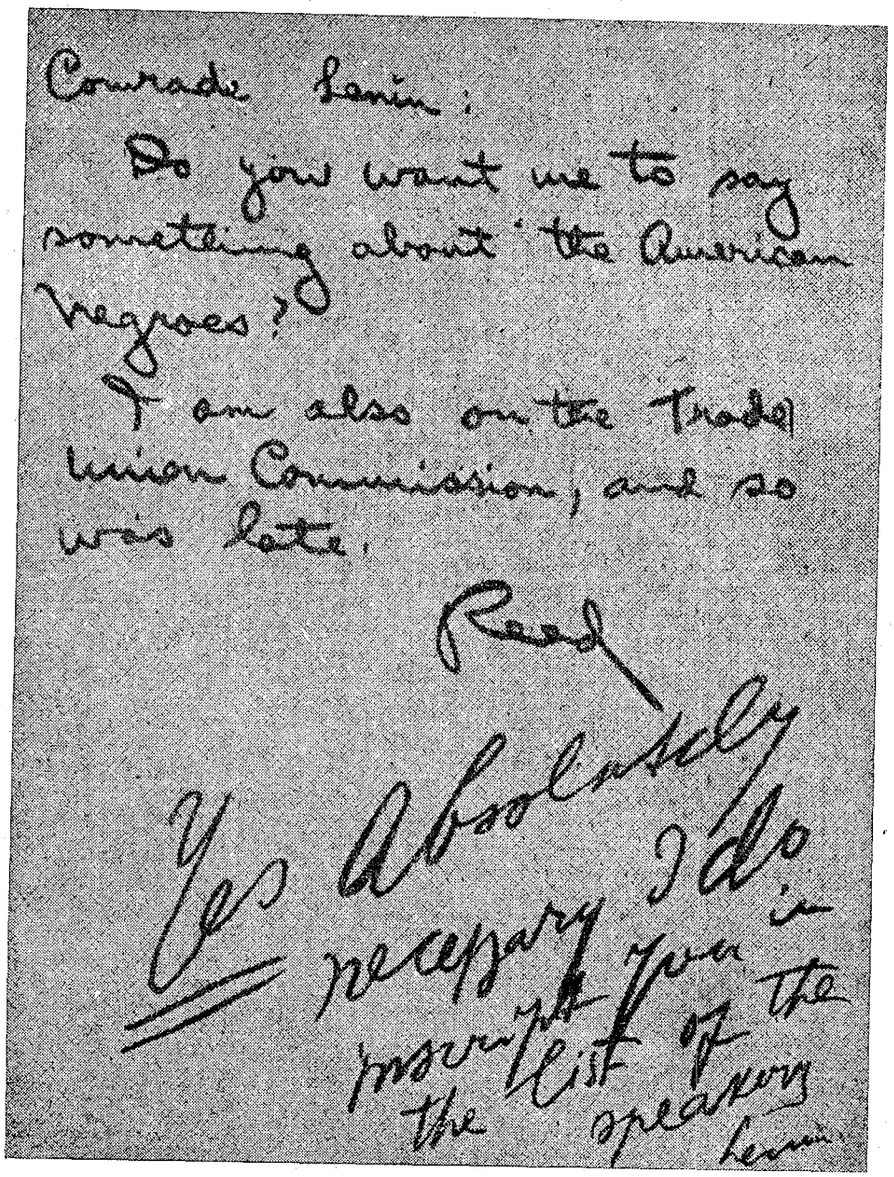
Comrade Lenin:
Do you want me to say something about the American Negroes?
I am also on the Trade Union Commission, and so was late.
Reed
Yes Absolutely I do
necessary even the
more first of
the speakers
Lenin

This rare document is a copy of a note John Reed passed to Lenin at the second congress of the Communist International, with Lenin's answer.

Balkans and in Russia, in France, and in Germany; he saw them on picket lines and he saw them in union halls. He was afraid of them in the beginning, perhaps. They seemed docile. They let themselves be clubbed. But that was only in the beginning; for the romantic pastels in which he described most everything in the beginning soon gave way to the harsher colors reflecting a sunless reality. He used his eyes and through them he wrote down those precise images which communicated what sheaves of statistics could not. His language was richly musical and at all times he had to see for himself or his words lacked vigor and drive. "I have to see," he said time and again. "I have to see."

He did not like what he saw. He did not like the "ugliness of poverty and all its train of evil, the cruel inequality between rich and poor. . . . It did not come to me from books that the workers produced all the wealth of the world, which went to those who did not earn it." That he used his eyes and drenched his mind with what he saw seemed to some of his Harvard classmates a gross violation of his upper class heritage. One might be liberal, even pinkish, but one must remember his position. There is one's career to think of. There is the money to be made, a big sock of it, in order to afford the luxuries of radicalism. His life was shaping into a pattern which was strange and horrible to them, yet his good spirits attracted them, just as his extraordinary charm magnetized those who had only the most transient acquaintanceship with him.

There were the intellectual snobs among his classmates. There was Walter Lippmann, who in his middle-twenties was already the pontiff of liberalism in New York. Jack Reed used to say that you could never call Lippmann "Wally" or any other affectionate nickname. When you addressed Lippmann it was always "Walter." And while Reed had respect for Lippmann's almost fabulous learning, he always distrusted Lippmann's delicately contrived logic and that imperceptible air of condescension with which Lippmann looked at the world and its people.

Much can be learned about Reed from the kind of superiority which Lippmann expressed towards him in an article in the *New Republic* many years ago. Reed had returned from Mexico with a huge reputation as a top-flight reporter and Lippmann wrote a piece called "Legendary John Reed." In that piece the whole snobbery of the liberal intellectuals towards Reed was given the weight of Lippmann's prestige —a snobbery that persists until today. Lippmann was laughing at Reed although the laughter was embroidered with praise. And throughout the piece Lippmann in effect posed as the great Marxist scholar, for after all he had been secretary to the Socialist mayor of Schenectady and Reed was a neophyte in social problems. In patronizing Reed, Lippmann helped establish the myth that Reed was a playboy, that he was unruly, an adventurous college boy acting the cynical war correspondent and man of affairs.

Reed would have been the first to admit, as he did, that in the early days his knowledge of working-class theory was almost non-existent. But in time he did come to Marx even while Lippmann was engaged in writing those supposedly flawless essays attempting to square Marxism with that strange crossbreed of Jeffersonianism and Hamilton's *Federalist Papers*. Reed sensed the intellectual sham of it, its hypocrisy. Any lesser man without Reed's rich experience might have been shaken to the roots by Lippmann's drubbing. But his instincts, as his eyes, were almost perfect and he fought the Lippmannesque acrobatics even though in the Lippmann circles there were those who shook their heads in sorrow over Reed's imperviousness to reason.

THAT was an intellectual pressure which Reed withstood as he withstood the warmongers who pleaded the justness of the first world conflict. There were economic pressures. There was social ostracism. There was a loss of

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friends with whom he had to break no matter the pain it cost. It could have been so easy, so very easy to turn his coat, to join in the mad plunge into the support of the traders' war. It could have been easy to stop editing and writing for the MASSES, which he loved and to which he gave his best work, and to make his peace with his old editors on the *Metropolitan* at many thousands a year. His intransigeance was buffeted by a host of forces, but it emerged live and whole and untouched. It meant sacrificing time to write poetry and plays and in their place to speak up against the darkness that was fast descending on the land. It meant defending the rights of workers, hitting hard with a pen that moved at white heat.

IF THERE was ever doubt in his mind, Reed had his answer in Russia during the Revolution. There his revolutionary outlook was shaped and enriched. And when he came back to the United States, hunted by Washington, he knew that it was his duty to tell Americans about the new world in birth. He knew that the truth was not in the New York *Times* and yet if the truth were not known, the interventionists would be able to destroy what he understood to be a great turning point in history. He had seen Lenin and had spoken with him. He felt the greatness of the man and Lenin in turn showed the warmest interest in Reed. They spent long hours together in Lenin's office, exchanging opinions, amusing each other with countless stories.

Reed was among the first pioneers to build American-Soviet understanding. But there were other Americans who also witnessed the Revolution and came back to lift the heavy curtain of falsehood that destroyed Moscow ten times daily, that pictured Lenin as a frothing beast, that spoke of the nationalization of women and the brutalities of the Bolsheviks. These, the pioneer handful, deserve great credit. But Reed went beyond them. He saw in the promise of socialism not something that was just good for the Russians, but necessary for all working people. The boy from Oregon became the prophet of the future. And the future he knew could be reached only through the organization of workers. He left the fumbling, backward Socialist Party and founded with others what was later to become the Communist Party.

Poetry, literature, did not lose because of Reed's choice. He longed to go back to both. He wanted both and he had the talent which assured excellence in both. Yet in writing *Ten 'Days That Shook The World*, Reed combined his gifts with his responsibilities towards American workers. He wrote *Ten Days* for them and its great artistry is a token of the love he had for them, and the way they received the book over the years was a token of what they felt for him. It is a monument to him as it is a monument to the events which it depicts.

Let it be said of Reed that in him was embodied the intellectual who found his kinship with the worker. His partisanship in the cause of socialism represents the most advanced in American intellectual life. He was among the first, the lonely pioneers, who crossed the frontiers between the old and the new orders. And after he crossed that frontier he reached his maturity as writer and American. His words after that were never the vague rhetoric so easily borrowed by the demagogue. He never again spoke of America's future in meaningless strophes. In communism, Reed found the dignity of man and, in its promise, the road to life. Thereafter, he never moved backwards.

His biography does not end with his death from typhus. It will never end, for his life has become the life of millions throughout the world and the intellectuals among them. The symbolism of his name has a powerful hold on the young men and women in his own land—and it has spread to other countries and merged with their symbols. From John Reed to David McKelvy White in the United States; from John Reed to Gabriel Peri in France; from Reed to Ralph Fox in England; from Reed to Eugene Petrov in Russia; from Reed to Garcia Lorca in Spain; from Reed to Kobayashi in Japan. They are all dead now—but never were men more alive.

STATISTICS ARE PEOPLE

By JOSEPH FOSTER

A TALL thin man paused at the entrance of the industrial branch of the United States Employment Service and shook the rain water from his hat. He shrugged off his wet coat, and made for the long benches nearest the door. He settled himself, looked around once or twice and then asked his neighbor, "How long before they get to you?" A youngster in the row in front, turned around and said, "Don't tell." One or two of the men laughed. His neighbor asked him, "Is this your first visit?"

"Yep. First time I've been in one of these places since the depression, and already it reminds me of it. It's the smell of these places, and all these people waiting. I sure hate the waiting." A few seats down, a man still wearing his GI clothes addressed nobody in particular. "Time doesn't mean a thing. It's the one thing I have. My wife waits at home. I wait here. I got a brother with six hash marks on his uniform. Three years overseas. Pretty soon he's gonna come home and start waiting too." The girl next to him giggled. "My boy friend says that looking for a job is like basic training for civilian life." The tall man asked his neighbor, "How long you been coming here?"

"I've been knocking around for five weeks," was the answer. "Not only here, but at the Veterans Administration, and the Selective Service Employment Office, too."

"How about the jobs? I read in the papers there are more jobs than applicants."

"Sure, but wait'll you get a load of some of them. I want a job with decent pay, and I'm going to hold out until I get one. Five weeks ago I got my Army separation papers. Four weeks ago my wife, who was a nurse, got back from England. So we look for an apartment, get our furniture out of storage, and start buying stuff for the house. Brother, what prices! Even food. The other day, the wife and I are on the way home, when she asks me to get some stuff for breakfast. I had an even dollar in my pocket, I bought eggs, milk and butter, and damn' if I didn't have to put the bite on my wife for some extra dough to buy the bread. Maybe

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I'm out of the Army, but it seems as though the war is still on. And what are we supposed to use for money?" He interrupted himself to make some noises of contempt in his throat. "Yesterday I was offered a job in a glass-cutting factory. Making fancy glasses out of soda bottles at seventy cents an hour. Before I did my hitch I was getting over a buck an hour assembling fuel gauges. Some of the other boys have been offered jobs for as low as sixty cents. If this keeps up, there'll be plenty of jobs and *no* takers."

An elderly man, one of the minority not wearing an Army discharge lapel button, nodded sympathetically. "My son was just discharged from the hospital. Had his wrist smashed. It's in pretty good shape now, only it's weak and he has to wear some kind of support. Well, they sent him out for a job, and he was turned down. They told him he wouldn't be strong enough for the work."

Eugene Karlin.

THE District Office of the United States Employment Service maintains row upon row of neat, exact files. The hopes, the waiting, the disappointments of the men and women seeking jobs are translated into efficient statistical records. What is the situation in the building and construction trades? you ask, and a brisk office worker pulls out a slip. In the week ending September oofth, 599 new jobs came into the office. There were ninety-five referrals to jobs, and there are some 900-odd jobs left. How does this stack up with other job categories? For every three commercial jobs (office help) there is only one referral. Same ratio holds for industrial jobs. The ratio is six to one for sales work and seven to one for professionals. These neat figures are collected from all the district offices and sent to the state USES office. Naturally, Governor Dewey, full of concern for the state's welfare, wants a report, so Mr. M. P. Catherwood, NY State Commerce Commissioner, gives him one.

There are 200,000 jobs available in the state, thunders the Commerce Commissioner, and at the same time 175,000 people are receiving unemployment insurance (New York papers, Sunday, September 23). The rumble continues, ". . . Actual labor shortage at a time when there are 175,000 men and women in the state receiving unemployment insurance constitutes an unfortunate and dangerous inconsistency. Should this condition become further aggravated it could seriously impair the reconversion effort of the state."

THERE are those who say that the people don't want to work? You ask one of the officials of the USES for an explanation. Out come the neat files again. Of 817 jobs on building and construction, for instance, seventy-seven were shipyard jobs, and approximately 375 were civil service and out-of-town laboring jobs. Workers were disinclined to take these jobs because the out-of-town work was centered around confinement points (not maternity hospitals, but government warehouses, materiel depots, etc.). These jobs, shipyard and confinement, were part of the diminishing government war program, and there was no telling how long such work would last. Moreover, the civil service jobs are of the non-competitive variety, which means that they can be terminated at any time. Not even the Employment Office official blamed them for refusing these jobs. In Buffalo, concentration point of heavy industry, twenty-nine percent of the vets, and twenty-six percent of the other applicants, mostly Army rejects, were found physically incapable of the heavy work required, and were sent home. Add to these facts the picture of the patient men and women in the agencies sweating it out for a decent wage, and you know that the sanctimonious masterminds of Albany are deliberately presenting a cockeyed story.

I asked the Employment official what *he* thought of the Catherwood report. He was plenty worried, but he asked me to keep his remarks anonymous. He thought that it might lead to forcing applicants into taking jobs at lower pay —inferior jobs for which people were fitted neither by temperament nor training. "If that happens, it will destroy the whole purpose for which unemployment insurance was designed, to permit a person to find a job *suitable* to his temperament and training."

I am convinced that if the Employment official suspected the real reason for the Dewey story, so did many others. The pious alarm over the state's reconversion program is an attempt by the politico in the governor's mansion to make you think that he is a champion of reconversion and thus deserving of your support in 1946. He has another reason, one made amply clear by the New York *Times*, which rushed into the fight with both arms swinging. In an editorial published Tuesday, September 25, this paper heartily endorses the Catherwood statement. It doesn't see how anybody can dispute the commerce commissioner's conclusions. It further advises the people to get over their fancy wartime notions of large salaries. Moreover, this condition where there are more jobs than takers is permeated by the "same kind of thinking that underlies the demands by a number of unions for a thirty percent increase in basic wage rates." And if there are some who have to have their noses rubbed in the intentions of our economic rulers, all they need do is listen to Senator Vandenberg discourse to his pals on unemployment insurance. He orates that he doesn't care how many weeks a man stays on unemployment pay. All he is interested in is *the weekly pay rate*.

Behind the smoke-screen set up by Dewey and his stooges, the real drive for the slashing of wage standards is being prepared. Consider the incredible action of the House Ways and Means Committee in shelving the whole question of unemployment insurance. This gang of political grifters want to see how the unemployment situation shapes up, by which they mean that if people become desperate enough, they will take any job at any pay rather than starve.

As a GI friend of mine said, "what burns these guys is the fact that the untaxed twenty bucks of unemployment insurance weekly comes to more than they want to pay."

And thus the battle lines are drawn.

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SOVIET MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

By XENIA BELOUSSOVA

On July 8, 1944, the Soviet government published an order increasing state aid for pregnant mothers, mothers with large families, and for widowed and unmarried mothers. This law increases state solicitude for mother and child and establishes the honorable title of "Mother-Heroine," the "Glory of Motherhood" Order, and the "Maternity Medal."

Under the new law mothers with large families enjoy a significant increase in the state grant which now ranges from 400 to 5,000 rubles, depending on the number of children. In addition, mothers of large families receive allowances of from 80 to 300 rubles per month. The law also provides for state maintenance and education of children of unmarried or widowed mothers if the mothers request such assistance over a limited or indefinite period.

Privileges afforded to pregnant women have been increased. Pre- and post-delivery vacations have been fixed at seventy-seven calendar days, and this period can be prolonged in case of abnormal birth or the birth of twins. Extra food rations for pregnant women and nursing mothers have been doubled. The organization of creches, kindergartens and rooms for nursing mothers is made compulsory. This law also provides for a wide extension of the network of welfare institutions: special rest homes for pregnant women, mother and child homes, milk kitchens, lying-in homes, children's medical consultations, etc.

The order has also introduced changes in laws concerning the family. In particular, it has been established that only registered marriages shall henceforth carry with them the conjugal rights defined in the Soviet code of laws on marriage, the family and guardianship.

It has been established that henceforth divorces are to be granted only as a result of a public trial at which the motives of the divorce are to be ascertained by summoning the interested parties and witnesses. Due notice of the opening of divorce proceedings is to be published in local newspapers. The decree of divorce can be issued only by the provincial, regional, city or supreme court of a constituent or autonomous republic.

Some people consider the new divorce limitations retrogressive as compared with former Soviet laws on marriage and family. Is this really the case? A consideration of the actual facts will be the best answer to this question.

Soviet legislation aims to serve the needs and interests of the masses. Accordingly it is guided by the principle that laws are made for man, and not man for laws. Therefore they are not unshakeable, dogmatic and fixed, but must change with changing circumstances.

For this reason, a consideration of Soviet laws concerning marriage and the family cannot be isolated from the general background and the concrete conditions under which these laws were passed, nor from the purposes which prompted their adoption. Czarist laws on marriage and the family reflected woman's position of subjugation and dependence. Then woman was not a member of society with equal rights. Many roads to education and independent work were closed to women. Therefore marriage remained the principal means by which women provided for themselves and found a place in society. The elevated feeling of human love, which should be the basis of all marriage, was rarely the true motive for matrimony in czarist Russia. The tragedy of unequal marriages, marriages of convenience, placed woman in a humiliatingly dependent position in the family, and czarist legislation intensified these abnormal relations by declaring that the husband was the master whom the wife was to obey without question. In those cases when, no longer able to withstand the yoke of marital tyranny, a woman left her family, the laws of czarist Russia gave the husband the right to have the police return his wife to him. Divorce laws were particularly humiliating. Suffice it to mention that one of the conditions for divorce was proof (which had to be substantiated by witnesses) that adultery had been committed by one of the parties. Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and *The Living Corpse* give us a vivid picture of the tragedy of woman in czarist Russia and of how human feelings and relations withered and died under the burden of the dead letter of the law.

The Soviet marriage laws passed in December 1917, established a new principle of marriage—that of absolutely free choice—and in so doing they declared that the Soviet family henceforth was to be founded on love, mutual respect and the equality of both parties.

At the same time the first Soviet law had, once and for all, to destroy all limitations for divorce. According to this law, marriages were dissolved on the application of husband or wife or both. The decree further simplified the divorce ceremony by permitting the dissolution of marriages to take place not only in the local court, but also in the local registrar's office. And though this aspect of the law was unquestionably exploited by certain morally unstable elements of society for the consummation of temporary liaisons, and though the broad democratic principles of Soviet marriage laws were interpreted by certain exponents of so-called "free love" as a proof of the superfluousness of the family which, forsooth, was supposed to chain personal freedom, nevertheless the new law of 1918 was absolutely necessary and its positive significance was enormous. It eliminated once and for all any possibility of making the marriage tie a means of enslaving woman and establishing inequality within the family. Unstable elements (against which no society and the best laws in the world have no guarantee) were given a sufficient rebuff by public opinion in the young Soviet Republic whose ethics and morals decisively condemned all elements of moral corruption, looseness and frivolity in the relations between man and woman.

Together with the change in the marriage laws, the Soviet government took decisive steps facilitating the actual eman-

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cipation of woman by extending to her not only the right to, but also the material conditions for acquiring an education and a profession (by granting stipends, organizing public dining rooms, etc.). It drew her into productive labor, into public and state activities. The state assumed much of the burden of caring for children and vigorously defended the interests of woman.

BUT a huge gulf lay between the legal declaration of the right to equality and equality itself. Circumstances hampered the realization of these rights. Every day the woman encountered those innumerable infringements which had been handed down through the ages, which had become ingrained in habits and customs, and had penetrated the psychology and social perceptions of men and women, the majority of whom considered the old relationship normal and natural. And no law, however democratic, could destroy at one blow this heavy burden of prejudice and tradition which regarded woman as having been created solely for child-bearing, family and household cares. Soviet woman had to traverse a long and difficult path if she wished to take advantage of the exceptional opportunities for social, spiritual and human development which the Soviet regime opened up to her. But in making this her choice, she was assured the fullest support from the Soviet state and from Soviet public opinion.

She had to overcome various difficulties. Many of them were caused by the hardships of the time and by having to master arduous trades hitherto regarded as suitable only for men. She had to surmount a distrust of and contempt for her capabilities on the part of zealous male partisans of "the good old times," who used to say: "A woman resembles a human being as a chicken resembles a bird." Often she had to overcome resistance to her development from members of her own family, especially from a backward husband who considered his wife's breaking away from the narrow circle of family interests a threat to the stability of the family and to his own prestige as head of the family. Finally, she had to overcome survivals of the old psychology in her own mind. She had to imbue herself with a belief in her own powers, with a resolution to conquer all difficulties and surmount all obstacles regardless of their nature. This was a complicated psychological process, made all the more so by the fact that the Soviet woman had no historical example to fall back upon. There was no prototype of the new woman who would combine in herself all those manifestations of personal and civil liberty placing her on a level with the male, and yet retain those natural qualities of womanliness, grace, maternal tenderness, which formed an integral part of her nature. Humanity's past could give examples of the development of only one side of the female character. It did not and could not provide the type of a universally and harmoniously developed woman. Soviet society was left to its own resources in the search for a correct formulation of the status of the new woman. The very fact that its searchings were made not in abstract theory, but in the course of life experience itself, that sometimes mistakes were accompanied by the bitter personal sufferings of men and women, by family conflicts and rifts in family relationships, served to increase the difficulty of the problem.

By her persistence, Soviet woman proved her right to take equal part in the industrial and cultural life of her country. But it was only by a heroic exploit that she could achieve such results. Her heroism was accompanied by privation and sacrifice. And one of the greatest sacrifices of all was that she was now forced to devote less time to her family and to her children. These same circumstances likewise reduced to a minimum her care for her husband and for her home. It goes without saying that it was well-nigh impossible for her to find time to devote to her clothes, hair, her general appearance.

The vast majority of Soviet women recognized that the conflict between family and profession was only temporary and the result of bitter necessity; that without labor and sacrifice it would be impossible to make engineers, physicians, teachers, scientists, factory foremen, pilots, out of women who for centuries had been trained to the part of housewife and had been taught that wider circles of interest and activities were "not for them." But it was necessary to surmount all these difficulties in order to help their country during years of incredible struggle with inherited backwardness. It was necessary to overcome all these difficulties before woman could win actual equality in Soviet society, and, accordingly, actual equality in the new Soviet family. Renouncing many of the necessities of life, observing the strictest economy in the satisfaction of her natural feminine desire for beautiful clothes, and likewise observing the strictest economy in her time, Soviet woman, at the price of selfless labor, made up for thousands of lost years and climbed ever higher on the ladder to genuine equality. It should be emphasized that the temporary and expedient nature of these privations was plain to every Soviet woman. She never relinquished her desire for a stable family, for the joy of motherhood, for the human sentiments of love and comradeship in her relations with her husband, for comfort and femininity.

True, a few women did succumb to the superficial attraction of the outward attributes of sex equality. A new fashion arose—that of wearing men's clothes, of using mannish gestures, intentionally rough manners. In the USSR such women were called "military-communism types," even though this definition was not exact, as the fashion of imitating the male arose much later than the period of military communism and affected young women and girls who had not lived through it. Even though this fashion was short-lived, was adopted by very few Soviet girls and women, and was finally denounced by Soviet public opinion, for some reason or other there is a widespread and firmly rooted opinion in other countries that the ideal of the Soviet woman is represented in this exaggerated imitation of the male. This, of course, is not true. But—even as the movement of foam on the surface of a stream is a sign of the force and direction of the deep current, so does this fashion, in spite of its superficiality, still point to the mighty movement of the millions of Soviet women toward genuine liberty, toward complete and absolute equality with man.

As a result of the Stalin Five Year Plans, Soviet society attained an immeasurably higher material and cultural level, and woman was no longer faced with the necessity of making a choice between "family or work," of "private life or social activities." Woman, who had forced public opinion to accept her as engineer, pilot, physician and scientist, collective farm chairman and Stakhanovite worker, now had far greater opportunities for providing for herself and children. In this respect her position in the family became equal to that of the man.

The Soviet family now entered the period of maturity.

IN CONTINUING to grant woman every opportunity for development by helping care for her children in creches and kindergartens, the Soviet government attaches particular importance to the family as the nucleus for training future generations. The care of the family and children, the duties of motherhood to which the Soviet woman was formerly

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Woodcut by Antonio Frasconi. Mr. Frasconi recently came to the USA from Uruguay.

unable to pay sufficient attention, once more regained its full significance. But this fact is not to be regarded as signifying that the Soviet woman has ceased striving for the complete development of her powers and abilities, for the complete realization of actual equality with man. The Soviet mother is no longer that backward, ignorant housewife with a limited outlook who was the typical mother in czarist Russia. Today, the Soviet mother is an active member of the community. She has completely identified herself with the interests of her country. She shares the joys and sorrows of her husband and occupies a worthy place in industrial, cultural and social life. Such mothers bring up children to become genuine patriots, help them acquire knowledge, perceive their inclinations and abilities, and have an immense influence on the formation of character.

"Even chickens can love their chicks," wrote Maxim Gorky. "But the bringing up of children is a matter of state importance, demanding skill, experience, and a great knowledge of life."

The Soviet woman of today possesses to a very great extent these qualities so necessary for bringing up children, for the very reason that she herself has surmounted incredible difficulties in achieving her equality.

A few lines from a letter written by Captain Ludmilla Zykova of the Red Army, who fought in all the campaigns from Moscow to Lublin and has been twice decorated with Soviet military orders, indicate the enormous change which has taken place in the psychology of Soviet women between the passing of the first marriage law of 1918, and the marriage law of 1944.

"When the soldiers congratulated me on the receipt of my second decoration, a foolish thought flashed through my mind: supposing I was living under the czarist regime, that I had a cozy, restricted life with its little world of domestic bliss. . . . It seemed horrible for the moment. Yet I long for a family, for comfort, for a corner of my own, for a woman's life and for family happiness, Especially now, when our victory is so near and our soldiers are dreaming of home."

During the last quarter of a century the Soviet system has trained a new generation with new standards of ethics and morals, with a new attitude toward labor, public property, the state and the family. The Soviet woman, now on a status of actual equality, has also considerably changed. The extent of her development has been demonstrated during the recent war by her heroic labor in the rear and heroic exploits at the front. She has served in Partisan detachments, in the Red Cross, in agriculture and industry, in art and science. Today, no material considerations, no legal or actual inequality can influence a woman's marriage decision. She is a respected member of the Soviet community, independent and free in her choice of setting up her home and creating family happiness. And man's attitude toward woman has undergone a corresponding change. Both derision and condescension as well as the household egoism which lingered on as a legacy from old Russia have disappeared never to return. It is on new lines that the family happiness of Soviet men and women is being built.

A new generation has been born during the years of revolution and peaceful construction in the USSR—that generation of which Engels dreamt when he wrote: "a generation of men who will never have occasion to buy women for money or other social privilege, and a generation of women who will never have to give themselves to men for any consideration other than that of genuine love."

Under the new conditions the mar-

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riage laws of December 1917, have proved insufficient. Today when all legal and actual prerequisites have been created for founding the family on pure feeling between man and woman, on mutual love, friendship, and respect, on common views and interests, Soviet legislation has been forced to reflect these changes by a corresponding change in existing laws.

The family is the basis for training the new generation. The strength and stability of the family to a great extent determines what human traits will be developed in the characters of the children. More than ever before have parents bcome responsible before the state and the entire people for the training of their children. The desire for a home and family, for motherhood and fatherhood, as expressed in Ludmilla Zykova's letter, is a desire deep-rooted in all the people of the Soviet Union.

The former laws making divorce easy cannot now serve the purpose of strengthening the family. On the contrary, they give rise to a feeling of instability and do not stimulate that serious attitude to the home which naturally leads to the happiness of parents and children and to a normal training of future generations of Soviet citizens.

The new law provides for divorce through court trial. Divorce proceedings are to be conducted publicly following the publication of a notice of the institution of such proceedings. At the court the motives for the proceedings must be explained, and steps taken to reconcile husband and wife. Witnesses are to be summoned if necessary. (At the request of the claimants and if the court deems the reasons valid, the case may be heard in closed session.) After the people's court has heard the case, if no reconciliation has been agreed upon, and if the claimant sends on his application for divorce to a higher court, the decree of divorce may be granted by provincial, district, regional, city or supreme court of constituent or autonomous republics. If divorce is granted, the court decides which of the parties of the marriage keeps which of the children, which of the parents is to maintain the children and what alimony he or she is to pay for this purpose. The court decides the division of property between the parties to the divorce, and, if the divorcees so desire, it restores pre-marital surnames. It likewise issues the certificate of divorce. This divorce system, as we see, greatly differs from the system of divorce provided for in the *Decree Concerning the Annulment of Marriages* passed on December 18, 1917, by the All Union Executive Committee. According to Par. 1 of this early decree, "A marriage may be annulled at the request of one or both parties to the marriage." The note to Par. 2 of this decree rules that it is not necessary for a divorce to be obtained by court proceedings, that it is sufficient for an application for divorce to be sent merely to the local registrar's office.

The new law aims to strengthen the Soviet family by making the institution of legal divorce proceedings obligatory. The attention of the Soviet people is hereby focused on the family as the center of child training. As such, it must be protected from arbitrariness on the part of either husband or wife, inasmuch as the care of children in the Soviet Union cannot be regarded as merely the private matter of the father or mother. This, of course, does not signify that the new Soviet law will force family relations onto people no longer tied by sentiments of love and mutual respect and who no longer have ideas and interests in common. In such cases, divorces will be granted by the corresponding legal organs. But at least attempts will be made to reconcile married couples in the people's court. During the actual trial, the insufficiency of motives may be made clear to the claimants, the reasons for their dissension dispelled, and the family saved, thanks to this new law. Furthermore, the publicity of divorce proceedings will prompt married people to treat their relationship more seriously, more fully to realize the responsibility they bear to each other and to their children. Finally, couples contemplating marriage will be more inclined to regard this as a decisive, all-important step in their lives, a step requiring that they know each other thoroughly before marrying, that they verify the seriousness and depth of their feelings. It should thereby curtail the number of accidental marriages and temporary liaisons, resulting so often in painful conflicts and the breaking of lives.

The new law strengthens the family as the nucleus of Soviet society, advances new standards of social relations, and provides a substantial material basis for the safeguarding of maternity and childhood, for providing children with every opportunity for development and education. In strengthening the Soviet family, this new law at the same time strengthens the Soviet system.

Pen sketch by Joseph Hirsch.

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NEW PATHS FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS

By JOSEPH WORTIS

This is the second of two articles. The first one appeared in last week's issue.

A SOCIALLY oriented psychiatry built on democratic standards need not limit itself to standards and criteria of a merely upper class psychiatry. It should not, for example, regard comfortable adaptation to a static social order as either a possible or desirable standard or psychotherapeutic goal. If frustration, bitterness, aggressiveness, and depression become the lot of a portion of our population under certain social conditions, we can at least reject the paraphernalia of terminology, mechanisms, apologetics and fatalisms that support the resignation of psychiatry to this kind of discontent. In practice, over and over again, much of our contemporary psychiatry tells the neurotics to seek within themselves the causes of their discontent. It thus cultivates the fiction of the isolated man, of automatic instincts unfolding with an inner energy, and obscures the true picture of man and personality developing within a social context. For this reason a socially oriented psychiatry must erect its own goals and describe its own standards. It must, moreover, shape its own tools to cope with the various kinds of discontent (not always dignified with the term neurosis) found in our society. The solid basis for such an undertaking lies in a broad social orientation. In the face of real problems, a preaching psychiatry that tells its patients to "adapt themselves," or bases its appeal upon encouragement or exhortation is as empty as the appeals for popular morale would be in an unjust war. Likewise, a merely cathartic psychiatry that aims to divert or diffuse disturbing impulses into socially useful or neutral channels, tends to disregard the real origin of neurotic difficulties and the material basis for their transmutation. Lacking a solid basis, its value is bound to peter out as soon as the hard facts of life disturb the individual again. Our psychiatry must pay more than lip service to "social influences," "ego and super-ego problems," and "contributing situational factors." It is timely for our psychiatrists to reexamine the philosophy underlying their activities, and to restate their basic convictions. To that end the following propositions may form a fruitful basis for discussion:

Renewed emphasis must be placed on the material basis of mind, but mind must not be regarded as a phenomenon that can be studied in isolation, *i.e.*, apart from its anatomical and physiological substrate and its sociological superstructure. We must not accept any picture of mind or consciousness which endows it with fixed or static qualities, for not only can human nature be changed, but it is in fact always in process of change. The nervous system may be regarded as primarily an integrative organ, mediating on the one hand between the other bodily organs and systems, and on the other hand mediating the connections between separate organisms in the social body. Deficiencies and disturbances in these integrative functions sometimes occur, and at times there may be a relative incompleteness of integrative efficiency from brain injury, during coma, delirium, sleep, dreams, intoxication and the like. We need not, however, regard the products of deficient integration as more important, more characteristic or more cogent than the refined products of a more highly integrated function. *In vino veritas*, for example, is an untrue proposition. The partial, distorted and fragmentary revelations of intoxication may be significant and interesting, but the drunken man does not reveal his "true" personality: he merely reveals the kind of personality he has when he is drunk. The same applies to sleep and dreams. The time has come to reassert the importance of conscious activity, in contrast to the enormous emphasis on the obscurities of the remote unconscious that has characterized Freudianism and its offshoots. It is not perhaps widely enough realized to what an extent Freud has belittled the significance of consciousness. The following passage from Freud's *Interpretations of Dreams* (Brill's translation, Macmillan, N. Y., 1933, p. 56) is typical:

"A return from the over-estimation of the property of consciousness is the indispensable preliminary to any genuine insight into the course of psychic events. As Lipps has said, 'the unconscious must be accepted as the general basis of the psychic life.' The unconscious is the larger circle which includes the smaller circle of the conscious, everything conscious has a preliminary unconscious stage, whereas the unconscious can stop at this stage, and yet claim to be considered a full psychic function. The unconscious is the true psychic reality: in its inner nature it is just as imperfectly communicated to us by the data of consciousness as the external world by the reports of our sense organs."

With due regard to the limitations of physical endowment (which are also susceptible to change) it is, in the final analysis, social structure that determines human behavior together with the ideals and ideologies which motivate behavior. Without some form of social organization, personality as we know it would have no meaning or existence. Patterns of behavior, language, ideas and personalities, all owe their being to the social context in which they arise and cannot claim an independent existence. Man has no fixed instincts of social behavior. Not even the pattern of normal sexual activity can be regarded as instinctive and innate: contemporary normal patterns of sexual maturity owe their development to a social context in which the monogamous heterosexual family ideal is dominant. A socially oriented psychiatry need not assume the existence of innate inherent ideas related to social objectives. In this sense it rejects the inheritance of acquired traits, the inheritance of sexual antipathies or ideals, or racial loyalties, of a "collective unconscious," of ancient dream symbols and the like.

FREUD's dictum, "Thought is behavior in rehearsal," (*Das Denken ist ein Probehandeln*) should be raised to the dignity of a central idea. All thought is inextricably bound to behavior: changes in behavior—in the relation of one individual to others—effect changes in thought; and conversely, disorders of thought produce disorders of behavior. The key to an understanding of social behavior lies in an understanding of the organization of society—of its productive relationships in general, and the individual working relationships in particular. These economic motivations of behavior however should not be too narrowly regarded: individuals themselves are not always directly motivated by economic needs, for there is a large intervening area of group ideology, surviving tradition and past habit (all in complex interrelation-

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ship) lying between the laws of economic necessity and individual behavior in specific situations.

Treatment of individuals should not be limited to talk alone. For one thing, the integrative apparatus, the nervous system, must be kept in good health, since disturbances in thought and behavior are often due to bad health, fatigue, tension and overwork. But for the great majority of people who look to psychiatrists for help it must be said that there can be no real mental health without a healthy harmonious working relationship to other individuals and to society as a whole. Psychiatrists should therefore emphasize the predominant importance of the family and social situation for the child, and of working conditions and social conditions for the adult. We wish to treat our patients in close collaboration with social workers or others whose interest and activity embrace the whole social milieu, and we share with social workers an immediate interest in the alleviation of unemployment, the provision of adequate food and shelter for all, in the improvement of working conditions, in the provision of play facilities for children and of sport and cultural activities for adults, in security for the sick and aged, and in improved educational facilities for all.

CERTAIN psychoanalysts will enthusiastically support these objectives, but will add that so far as their patients are concerned we must make the best of society as it is. These "advanced" psychoanalysts picture our society as a fairly uniform culture, and picture the culture as a body of ideas permeating our society. They overlook the fact that a culture is not primarily a system of ideas, but a system of active social and working relationships, and that in our own society the individual has considerable freedom to choose the kind of relationship he wishes to assume toward others. In this sense there is more than one kind of culture in our society toward which the individual can exercise his freedom of choice. Personality problems which are engendered by experiences, social relationships and situations, are supported and changed by experiences, situations and social relationships too. Those "advanced" psychoanalysts who acquire this insight are being forced step by step to deny the very premises upon which much of their professional activity depends. For if action and social relationships, work and working relationships are the key to any fundamental therapy of personality disorders, obviously the psychoanalytic procedure is then no longer therapy, but rather a preliminary to therapy: psychotherapy then becomes indistinguishable from elucidation or education. Common sense considerations, sound ethical values, good work for worthy ends, close identification with the popular forces of our democracy and constant exposure to their wholesome influence become basic. And insofar as mental disturbances are related to physiological disorders, psychoanalysis in the strict sense of the term tends to become less important too.

The chief difficulties of the "advanced" psychoanalysts are due to the fact that they find themselves deeply committed to certain psychoanalytic procedures, make their living from them, have developed certain organizational and institutional ties and have too often tended to isolate themselves from medical practice on the one hand and from popular movements on the other. A practicing psychoanalyst usually sees private patients with neurotic problems in isolation in his home, hotel or office, for one hour sessions, usually several times a week and over a period of months or years. It is mainly middle class and white collar elements who are attracted to psychoanalysts for help, and it is mainly these who can afford this type of treatment. Industrial workers are a distinct rarity in psychoanalytic practice. This unsatisfactory state of affairs has stimulated interest in a number of new developments in psychoanalytic circles: a closer interest in medicine (though in psychosomatic medicine the psychoanalysts meet medicine on their own terms), experimentation with more rapid forms of treatment (brief psychoanalysis) and group therapy. It is significant that under wartime conditions almost all practicing psychoanalysts who became Army or Navy psychiatrists soon devised or accepted new, quick techniques for the treatment of nervous disorders. The emerging demands of industrial psychiatry will require similar adjustments. But each new progressive advance involves either a dilution or contradiction of some Freudian principle. Psychoanalytic theory, like many other things, has been shaken to its foundations by the war. The psychoanalyst who accepts group therapy as a valuable new technique, for example, exposes himself at the same time to some refreshing influences emanating from the people. The analyst soon realizes that group therapy can be most effective if combined with cooperative working relationships for useful ends and operated as a joint democratic enterprise. But this is no longer psychoanalysis but the good life itself.

NEUROTIC complaints revolve about internal conflicts. Freud believed the conflict is precipitated by the opposition between instinctive drives and the repressive demands of organized society. To Horney the conflict represents a clash between the demands of the present and the attitudes created by one's past. In reality neurotic conflicts are both engendered and maintained by the contradictory nature of the actual social relationships in which we are involved; they can be regarded as mental reflections of real relationships. The mental conflicts cannot be resolved until there is a corresponding resolution of these contradictory relationships. There is a time-lag involved in the change, to be sure, but it is not as great as some psychoanalysts suppose.

A single brief case history can illustrate our point of view: *Lady in the Dark*. In this motion picture we are presented with an especially seductive psychoanalytic formulation and solution of a woman's problem—in technicolor. The heroine is a business executive who is depicted as unhappy (*i.e.*, neurotic) because of the conflict between her unconscious wish to be a woman (*i.e.*, passive) and to be successful in her career (*i.e.*, to be masculine or active). She has repressed her innate femininity because of a childhood experience (scolded by her father for trying to be pretty like her mother). This early experience is recalled to her by psychoanalysis; the picture ends when the lady —who is now supposed to be no longer in the dark—capitulates to her femininity and yields herself and her position to an aggressive man.

Actually the lady's conflict did not lie in the past, but in the present: the conflict between business success and femininity is a real conflict created by the position of women in our society. This conflict is not resolved by submission to the orthodox pattern of femininity, and such submission should not be represented as an acquiescence to an overwhelming innate need. The psychoanalytic formulation of the film represents nothing but misstatement and gross evasion of a real and typical woman's problem, the solution of which lies very much in the realm of practical affairs.

But this is only one particular type of problem, and there are many others. A consideration of social relationships is basic to an understanding of most of them, but it would be naive and me-

(*Continued on page* 31)

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READERS' FORUM

What the Reconversion Crisis Means

TO NEW MASSES: Your editorial, "The Job Crisis" (August 28), seems to me to fall seriously short in several respects.

First, it underestimates the gravity of the situation. There is nothing in the editorial to suggest that people are already going hungry in considerable numbers. You say that "individual savings will not pay the food bills and rent very long. . . ." What savings? Approximately one-third of all the workers in the country get less than sixty-five cents an hour (CIO figures). At forty-five hours per week, the average for manufacturing for the past six months, with allowance for overtime and taxes, this is about twenty-eight dollars per week; many, of course, earned much less than this. It is not possible to save more than nominal sums on such an income. OPA figures on bond-holdings bear this out.

Lower-paid workers, of course, are among the first to be fired. Even the average for all factory workers, including the small number at high wages, is—after allowance for taxes—only about forty dollars. Even under the best possible circumstances it will take several weeks or months to get public works and other programs started. One can get awfully hungry in several weeks.

Second, the demand for twenty-five dollars unemployment insurance should be qualified to show that this figure is only the first step, that it may be all we can get immediately, but that it is not enough. Under any unemployment insurance scale, only a small proportion get the top rate. Twenty-five dollars is about equal to fifteen dollars in terms of 1939 prices, approximately one dollar a week more than home relief for two people in New York city in 1939. Maybe it isn't an immediate issue, but somebody ought to do some talking about the need for raising the maximum to, say, forty dollars a week. The value of the dollar *has* depreciated.

Third, you say: "The mere elimination of controls is not synonymous with reconversion. . . ." This seems almost to imply that you believe the quick abandoning of wartime controls is or may be necessary or desirable. Actually it represents a huge coup by the big monopolies, the most reactionary elements in the country. It is essentially a defeat for the people and ought to be faced as such. It makes the job of reconstruction many times more difficult. What ought we to do about it? Achieving any degree of economic security will involve reestablishing, in one form or another, of many of these controls. It is not too early to consider such questions as: What do we do if steel and lumber companies simply refuse to increase production to meet orders for a housing program that we may get started?

Finally, while the closing paragraph stresses the need for action, you say nothing about the forms that action should take. This is a new problem. Is not NEW MASSES, as a Marxist magazine, under some obligation to start discussion of forms and methods? Among the things I want to know are the following: What is being done now? What can be done locally to meet the immediate need for relief, for food? To what extent should we begin thinking and talking in terms of large-scale demonstrations, not only locally, but to state and national capitols? Would rather large delegations and sit-in protests (overnight if necessary) to the offices of the big corporations to underline the demand for severance pay be appropriate or useful? These things won't happen next week or next month, but the crisis is not going to evaporate. Possibly these particular ideas are not relevant, but the need for specific discussion remains.

HENRY BLACK.

New York.

More Salt and Pepper

TO NEW MASSES: Joel Bradford gives only one of the three basic phases of Marxism in his thought-provoking article in the NEW MASSES of August 28. And, however essential this aspect may be, a one-sided picture results. The essence of Marxism, says Bradford, is not that Marx discovered the class struggle in modern society, since he did not, but that he discovered that this struggle is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, and leads to the dictatorship of the working class which, in itself, constitutes the transition to a classless society.

In a short article entitled, "Three Sources and Three Principles of Marxism," as I recall it, Lenin summarized in addition to the phase stressed by Bradford, two others: that Marx did not discover the labor theory of value, but the theory of surplus value, and finally, that he did not discover dialectics but did turn idealistic dialectics on its head on the basis of consistent materialism and elaborated dialectic and historical materialism.

Bradford's statement of the essence of Marxism is too limited and leaves it short of its true stature. Such a restricted conception no doubt fosters a leftist, one-sided approach to present-day problems, as NEW MASSES says.

Marx took what was basically true in the discoveries of scientific social thought of his day and added to their meaning, just as Lenin and Stalin have done. Lenin wrote, in another article, that Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century represented by the three most advanced countries of the world: classical German philosophy, classical political economy (England), and French socialism combined with French revolutionary teachings.

While NEW MASSES did not answer Bradford on the nature of Marxism, the editors did indicate that Bradford's conclusions did not all fit in practice. His approach tends to overlook the need of analyzing and furthering the progress of society historically and in all its phases—of using all forces available and of representing the interests of society as a whole and nations at different stages of development. In some cases this may mean to encourage the development of capitalistic forms of economy, naturally under as democratic control as possible, as for instance in China. In other countries it would mean working for higher forms of democracy. And while Bradford's propositions about the class struggle might be elaborated to cover some of the objections raised by NEW MASSES, it is clear that his statement of the essence of Marxism does not do justice to its embracing character nor to the fund of knowledge, the practice, principles and methods of analysis of which it consists.

Boston. PROSPECTUS.

Marxist Fundamentals

TO NEW MASSES: Mr. M. Drucker's letter in the issue of September 11 seems to touch off something in my being that has needed an answer for a long, long time. That is more direct knowledge of the rudiments of the thought of Karl Marx. If you could follow Drucker's plea I think it would do good to everybody. The papers, the public speeches, et al., yell "Reds," "Bolsheviks," but not one of them says anything about what is the subject matter in question. We all know, of course, something is radically wrong. But what is it—and how will Marxism correct it?

Annapolis, Md. DON P. STURGIS.

What About Socialism?

TO NEW MASSES: I have believed in socialism for about fifty-five years, and many years ago did a great deal of speaking on behalf of socialism. But I have no idea as to how socialism will come in the United States and have failed to learn anything from any publication advocating socialism.

Could you not run articles in NEW MASSES on this subject? If all those who believe in socialism could unite something constructive might be done, but the faithful seem to spend most of their time in fighting one another. Tell us how socialism may come and what we can do to help it along.

EDWARD G. MAXTED.

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PEACE AND THE FAR EAST

THE American government's attempt in the Far East to turn military victory in a just war against fascism into an imperialist deal has horrified public opinion in all parts of the world. The combination of MacArthur's personal arrogance and pro-fascist leanings and of Secretary of State Byrnes' bigoted "shrewdness" is preparing the world for another war. An American can no longer walk the highways of East Asia with his head up.

By now it is not a question of modifying the MacArthur-Byrnes policies in the Far East. They must be thoroughly and decisively defeated. For the purposes of these policies are dishonorable from any point of view one looks at them. We have branded them as a betrayal of the American interest and of world security and peace in previous issues of NEW MASSES. Every new development in the policy justifies the use of that term.

How can this vicious American policy be defeated? In general terms by breaking up the reactionary American coalition whose interests the policy is designed to promote and by replacing it with a democratic coalition based upon a United Nations policy. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov is reported to have urged upon the London meeting of Foreign Ministers an Allied control commission for Japan. He could do nothing else, for obviously the continuation of the present American policy of rebuilding a fascist state in Japan presents the Soviet Union with an immediate threat to its security as it does to the security of all countries. The Soviet Union at the San Francisco Conference last spring fought hard for the adoption of a colonial policy which would provide for early independence under the joint supervision of the major United Nations. They did so for the same reason they now press for joint decisions respecting Japan. For any policies administered unilaterally, or by a reactionary imperialist bloc are, by definition, threats to world security. Nor should anyone be misled into thinking that the establishment of a Far Eastern Commission made up of the Allies will fulfill the need for a joint control council. The American invitation to the other governments to join in the Commission in an advisory capacity does not alter Washington's insistence that it make the final decisions on all matters of Japanese occupation policy. It still remains a unilateral control and in effect does not begin to resemble the method used in Germany. And until it does, it remains an evasion and changes nothing.

The issue in China is much the same. The democratic forces of that country have, through their spokesmen, the Communists, demanded the formation of a coalition government to bring unity and strength to the now badly wounded nation. Within China, as well as in the international arena, only a joint policy and a joint administration of all anti-fascist elements can provide the basic security which the world and each nation in it so desperately needs.

The present disastrous American policy finds allies only among the most dangerous elements in each nation. In Japan it allies itself with and depends upon the fascist oligarchy which the war defeated only militarily. In China it becomes identified with the hated and corrupt Kuomintang dictatorship. In its own colony, the Philippines, it seeks to hedge on the solemn pledge of independence by building up the quislings, the emissaries of American imperialism, the pro-fascists, the agents of the Spanish Falange. In the other colonial areas of the Far East it facilitates the return to the pre-war situation—the situation which in itself was a major cause of the war.

Our demands specifically must therefore be: (1) to abandon unilateral control of postwar Japan in favor of an Allied control commission; (2) to withdraw American troops, airplanes and other war materials as well as political and economic support from the most reactionary circles in China; (3) to suport the Filipino people in bringing to immediate trial all war criminals and quislings, to cease entrenching American monopoly in the Philippines, and immediately to make good our pledge for unconditional independence; and (4) to give support to all *colonial* peoples —in Indo-China, Java, Malaya, India—aspiring to freedom and independence.

BEHIND THE LONDON CONFERENCE

THERE are many angles from which to approach the meaning of the London foreign ministers conference. There is the Balkan angle; the Rhineland-Ruhr angle; the "What is democracy?" angle; the Italian colonies angle. Each serves as a special avenue leading to some understanding of the issues that were laid on the green baize table—issues which, as we write, have not been resolved. Yet these are only components of a much larger problem involving the current relationships of the great powers and their need to arrive at a basis for cooperation beyond the primitive unity attained in the war.

The London conference, in essence, has been a conference to prevent World War III. All preceding tri-partite meetings have had as their dominating characteristic the planning of victory without which, of course, the postwar settlement was but a dream. The San Francisco meeting represented the transition stage between the Allied assemblages in wartime and the peacetime conferences of which the one in London is the first. To be sure, at Potsdam the foundations were laid at the highest level for the postwar agreements, but they were only foundations on which the structure is yet to be built. And it was only a matter of the simplest foresight to predict that the subsequent gatherings of the foreign ministers, for which Potsdam provided, would be the scene and the test of whether the pre-war lessons had been assimilated—the lesson of Munich especially—or whether the capitalist world and its ruling groups would continue as in the past once their immediate Japanese and German enemies were vanquished.

The judgment must be that the United States and Great Britain, the fulcrums of the capitalist community, have not undergone any fundamental change of heart, although they must now proceed with greater care than they were disposed to in the thirties. That much is apparent from the London meeting. But in every respect the American delegation through its chief, Mr. Byrnes—even recognizing the

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superficial differences that exist within the delegation itself—has taken on its shoulders the responsibility of dividing the world in two with the larger part of it designed to hem in and straitjacket the Soviet Union. The British—yes, the British Laborite leadership—have been willing partners in this disastrous venture, adding their own special fuel to what in time may become a raging fire unless the anti-war and anti-imperialist forces of the world stop the incendiaries.

If one sees that Mr. Byrnes has been trying to magnetize the anti-Soviet forces in Europe around himself with Britain as a sort of secondary center, then one can understand Mr. Molotov's intransigeance, his refusal to descend to the Byrnes-Bevin level of trading away the peace for a few meaningless concessions. The evidence is overwhelming that American power and American economic strength is being used, first, to establish American hegemony over the world, and second, to make certain that that hegemony will never be challenged even if it costs billions in terms of loans and credits as bribes. Is this a fantastic notion? Then all one need remember is what the United States has been doing in Japan, not to speak of Europe, and that Mr. Byrnes takes great pride in being the tough boy who will make the Russians say, "Please." Last week Herbert L. Matthews, a foreign correspondent with considerable experience and with the same level of vision as Mr. Byrnes, reported from London to the New York *Times* (September 27) that "on every question that has come up in the twenty-four sessions [of the foreign ministers' meeting], Russia finds anywhere from two to four powers lined up against her. Britain has stuck closely to the United States. China has not done much voting or intervening, but it so happens that when she did it was on America's side, and the same is true of France."

There is the nub of all that has happened in London and there lies the explanation for the USSR's so-called stubbornness. It is a stubbornness based on the bitter memories of the past when in the League of Nations and in a dozen European conferences the whole trend of affairs was to isolate the Soviet Union and prevent her from building a genuine collective security. This time there is the difference that anti-Soviet projects are harder to fashion, that one must at least meet the Russians face to face, that there is a huge public opinion friendly to them which will not tolerate the high-handed dealing of a James Byrnes or of his deputy, James Clement Dunn. Mr. Byrnes may in the recesses of his mind believe that this friendly public opinion represents an opinion peculiar only to "agents of Moscow." Then let him ask the rank and file of the American labor movement, let him move across Europe and Asia. He will have his answer in terms of millions of voices and it will not be pleasant for him to hear.

IT WILL do no good to blame American behavior at the London conference on insufficient preparation or lack of technical information. The fact is that even if the delegation were a thousand times better prepared or had more information at its command it would still comport itself as miserably as it has because the preparation and the information would be shaped to meet the policy already established. To change that policy, to uproot it, there lies the job of all Americans who know that what happens now will determine the length of the peace and their own future at home. The Byrnes policy failed before when it was in abler hands. Why should anyone believe that it can be successful now when the chances of its success are smaller than ever before? And even if it did succeed what will that success mean? Let Mr. Byrnes count the graves of American boys in Europe and in the Pacific for his yardstick.

—THE EDITORS.

NM SPOTLIGHT

Potsdam to Patton

THERE are a host of reasons for the most serious alarm over the way the Potsdam pledge to denazify and demilitarize Germany is being implemented. Here are a few of the many highlights concerning the American end:

1. Former Secretary of State Morgenthau's charge that all signs point to the rebuilding of a Germany with full war-potential and that the American directives for the control of the country are being kept secret. The implication was that while the directives are good they are being kept under lock and key so that the American people cannot compare directives with achievement.

Mr. Morgenthau revealed that not one pound of machinery has been shifted from the British and American zones to the Russians under the terms of the reparations agreement.

2. There is undeniable evidence that American experts are being sent to Germany to aid in the reconstruction of the giant cartel and dynamo of war, I. G. Farben.

3. Nazi industrialists, such a Gerhard A. Westrick, are being used to cement relations between German and American companies, with the Hitlerites only too glad to do the job. The authoritative newsletter, *Germany Today*, in a sensational story reveals how Westrick met with two vice-presidents of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation for a little business chat. "As a matter of fact," *Germany Today* reports in its September 21 issue, "three executives of the ITT in Europe were generals in the US Army." Two of them, fortunately, were demoted when the discovery was made that they were in effect working for the ITT instead of for the Army.

There are many other incidents which could be listed, ranging from the notorious Patton fiasco to the fact that Americans are reported to be buying up German corporation shares owned by Nazis, and that in Chile, United States firms are appointing Nazi companies and individuals as their agents. All this is another effort at financing a rebirth of the Nazi system. But the key fact is that for every effort at denazification made by Americans there are counter-efforts that go undiscovered and unpunished. Through their cartel connections, the German imperialists are not without hope that their military defeat did not end their financial control. How long

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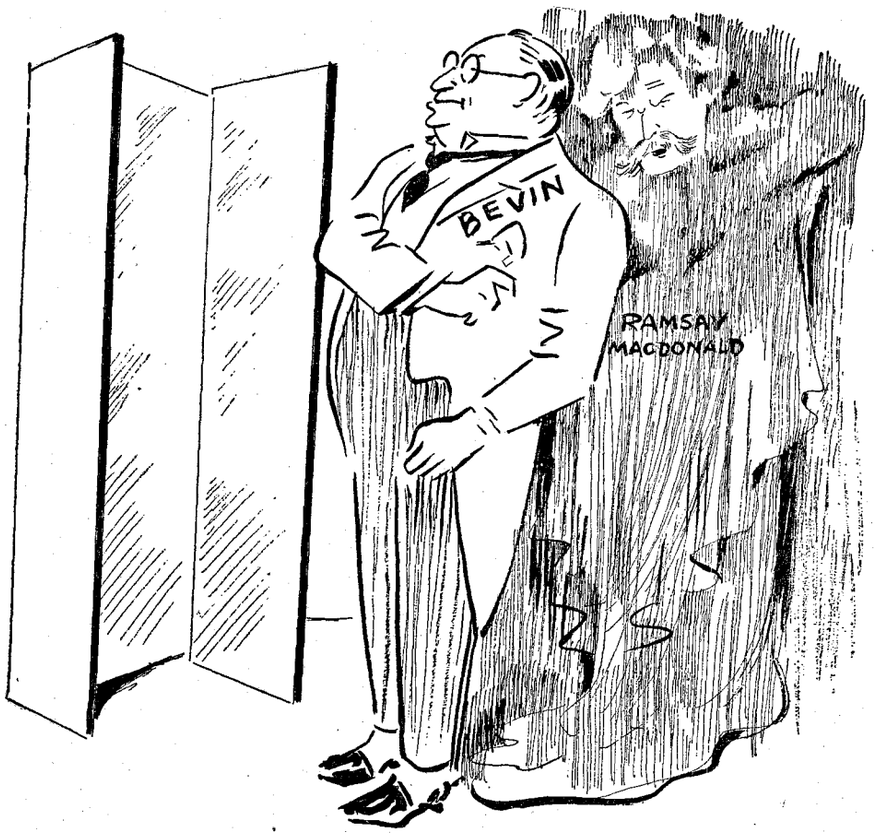

"I thought I could get away with it, too." Soriano

will the White House, the State and War Departments permit these violations of the Potsdam agreement? There must be a thorough investigation and a thorough cleanup of the American Military Government. Otherwise it will not be amiss to conclude that these developments are not mere slips in application of policy but policy itself.

Europe's Jews

IT WOULD seem that the victory of the Allies would end the pall of misery and horror that has for so long hung over European Jewry. While their biggest enemy has been deposed their little enemies are still there with the net result that the Jews find their liberation attended by little change. True their relations to the various new governments have vastly improved; they are no longer subject to the racial decrees and they have a chance to make themselves heard and felt. Yet as the Harrison Report to the White House makes clear, many Jews—100,000 of them in Germany alone—are in the same concentration camps in which their Nazi persecutors put them. Life in these camps is indescribably brutal. There are Jews still at the Belsen abbatoir who are hungry, ill and without the immediate prospect of being shifted. More than one observer of their destitution has come to the conclusion that Allied commanders in the British, American and French zones are showing either severely limited concern for Jewish welfare or none at all. In many cases Jews do not even get the treatment accorded German prisoners of war.

There is a partial solution in President Truman's suggestion that Britain permit the emigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. But the British Labor government, more concerned with maintaining its imperialist stranglehold in the Near East, will have none of it. In contradiction to all its pledges, it refuses to abrogate the White Paper, that by-product of Chamberlain Munichism. It is stark and unpalatable irony to read Laborite leader Herbert Morrison's statement in 1939 that the White Paper "will not be automatically binding" on any succeeding government and to see now, six years later, how those words have become empty rhetoric. The British Cabinet's proposal that the whole Palestinian issue be turned over to the United Nations Organization is valuable only if it is not used as a subterfuge to evade opening Palestine's gates immediately. The 1,500 persons who are being permitted to enter the country each month is merely a trickle that does not begin to meet the problem. Any alternative to large-scale emigration is to doom thousands of Jews this next winter to unnecessary and unforgivable tragedy.

First Steps Forward

THE one element which the highly divergent reports of a Kuomintang-Communist agreement just arrived at have in common is the decision to convene an all-party council. This is a step to be welcomed. It indicates, among other things, that the pressure of popular, democratic sentiment is forcing the Kuomintang dictatorship to eschew armed conflict; it also indicates that the democratic movement has sufficient strength to make the Chungking clique think twice before risking an open clash.

It is of signal importance that the news coming from the Chinese capital reflects a partial victory for the policy of coalition against unilateral rule by reaction. As another editorial in this issue points out, democratic coalition is the key to security in the Far East, whether applied to the international or the domestic scene. That this policy has been able to take a step forward within China is encouraging.

The early reports on the Kuomintang-Communist agreement make it evident, however, that a full solution has not yet been reached. It seems more likely that a stand-off arrangement has been arrived at. Such an arrangement provides for the continuation of negotiations at a different and more hopeful level. The new council it is reported, will be based upon the famous Communist three-three-three formula. The Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the smaller political groupings will each have equal representation. That will mean representation in favor of China's democratic elements. Such a body, given authority to reach decisions without reference to the present Chungking dictatorship and without intimidation from the Chungking gestapo, should be able to tackle the basic problems of forming a coalition government, introducing democratic procedures and institutions and supervising a unification of the armed forces.

Everything depends upon the reported agreement being faithfully carried out. On this score one cannot count on the Kuomintang dictatorship. Words and promises are one thing, deeds another. The Kuomintang record to date is a long series of broken promises. There can therefore be no relaxing of public pressure either within China or from abroad if this agreement is to be implemented.

It is clear that the Sino-Soviet Treaty

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was one of the factors which made possible the partial success of these negotiations. Chinese-Soviet friendship was one of the pre-conditions of internal Chinese unity. The United States role in this matter has been altogether different. American military intervention on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek, including the recent inexcusable landing at Tientsin, has made it evident that we were prepared to back Chinese reaction even at the cost of American lives. The official American role, in contrast to that of the Soviet Union, has been to establish the pre-condition of disunity. That policy must now be changed and it must be changed by the American people. Otherwise the Kuomintang, we may be sure, will be encouraged to betray still another solemn pledge.

World Labor in Paris

EVEN though the Paris meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions now in progress embraces the widest and most advanced sections of organized world labor, all the political and ideological antagonisms of our predominantly capitalist and colonial world have their reflections here. Particularly conspicuous have been the conflicts between Sir Walter Citrine, representing the British Trades Union Congress, and delegates from others of the sixty-nine countries represented, which include both colonial and recently liberated nations. Citrine attacked the speech of S. A. Dange, spokesman of the trade unions of India, welcoming the formation of the WFTU as a measure which would speed the freedom of India, as "rhetoric" and a useless aspiration for a trade union international. It was Citrine also who voiced a cynical distrust of the new trade unions from the liberated countries, calling them "mushroom organizations, never heard of before," and who brazenly threatened that the Trades Union Congress "cannot be bludgeoned into joining any new world organization by a majority vote." In echoing the wantonly undemocratic foreign policy of Attlee and Bevin, Citrine reflects rather the determination of the British ruling class to arrest the liberating and democratic forces unleashed by war than the views and interests of the British working class.

Citrine is not only maneuvering to postpone the final organization of the WFTU, but is also trying to blackmail the Congress into accepting the machinery and personnel of the reactionary, pre-war International Federation of Trade Unions as the basic structure of the new organization with threats that his organization will not join unless his proposals are accepted.

The great mass of the delegates, however, are determined that the new labor international shall be formed in Paris without further delay. While compromises on many issues will be made in an effort to maintain the broadest possible labor unity, it is no longer possible for men like Citrine to determine either the policy, structure or the date of final formation of the international. A new day has dawned in the world labor movement and the liberating forces who were in the forefront of the great war against fascism can no longer be denied a determining role in forming the WFTU.

Here and There

A VICTORY over Jim Crow accompanied the setback to the witch hunting new un-American congressional committee when New York's Negro councilman, Ben Davis, Jr., was given accommodations in Washington's Roger Smith Hotel, for the first time in Washington history.

● Immediately after the tremendous anti-Franco Madison Square Garden rally in New York, at which the Soviet *Charge d'Affaires*, Nikolai Novikov, called for the trial of Franco as a war criminal, a denunciation of Franco by President Roosevelt, written shortly before his death, was made public.

● Progressive thought in capitalist economic circles: The British economist, Paul Einzig, writing in the magazine, *The Banker*, urges the use of cigarettes as the new currency standard for European continental countries.

● Traitors being mostly upper clawss, British and American official treatment of them is appropriately Emily Postish. The British government cut two years off the aristocratic Taylor Kent's sentence and an American government official declared that no action was being contemplated against him on his arrival back in this country. This despite the fact that he was convicted for "communicating material valuable to the enemy," while on the staff of the American Embassy in London.

● The splitting away from the reactionary General Anders Polish group continues. Following the return of 3,500 officers from Germany, 100 of them staff officers, came the announcement of the arrival in Warsaw from Switzerland of Gen. Purgar Ketling, commander of the Second Polish Division which fought in France. General Ketling pledged his adherence to the Warsaw government, declaring that thousands of Poles now interned in Switzerland were impatient to return to aid in the reconstruction of their country.

● Hoover took his predictable place in the atom bomb controversy by demanding that the secret be kept from "other" countries. Isolationists in Congress took the same position, specifying the Soviet Union as the object of the secrecy. The atom bomb scientists themselves, however, are, in the name of science and common sense, calling for its internationalization.

● Called upon by Alabama's Attorney General, Robert B. Harwood, to reopen the case of Recy Taylor, abducted and raped over a year ago by identified but still unindicted white men, authorities of Henry County, in which the crime was committed, postponed the announced September 20 grand jury session. The Committee for Equal Justice for Recy Taylor calls upon all progressives to defeat this maneuver. Write or wire Gov. Chauncey B. Sparks, State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama, demanding immediate grand jury action on the case.

● In his message to Congress on September 6 President Truman said that "because of the great demands for food that exist in this country and for relief abroad, the Department of Agriculture is planning for another year of full production." On September 24 Secretary of Agriculture Anderson indicated, according to the Associated Press, that "the government's 1946 farm program would call for some reduction in overall production to keep supplies in line with a prospective smaller peacetime demand." Why this about-face in less than three weeks? Is the Truman administration preparing to return to the scarcity economics of the thirties?

● NEW MASSES is glad to report that as a result of the telegrams and letters thousands of Americans sent Gov. Coke Stevenson of Texas, L. C. Akins, Negro worker of that state, will not go to the electric chair October 6 (see NM, September 25). His sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment. But why should an innocent man serve even one day in jail? The International Labor Defense, which organized the national campaign, and the Dallas branch of the NAACP, which conducted the defense, urge that the campaign do not cease: an innocent man has been saved from execution, but he is being unjustly punished by the jail sentence. Wires and letters for his release should continue to Governor Stevenson and to the Board of Pardons and Paroles, at Austin, Tex.

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IT'S TIME TO SWING YOUR WEIGHT

By THE EDITORS

THE utterly shameless performance of the House Ways and Means Committee last week in shelving the unemployment compensation bill nauseated millions of Americans. What could they think when they saw that congressional body, by a fourteen to ten vote, put aside the most vital issue of the day in order to get to the task nearest their heart—the reduction of taxes on the well-to-do? Parallel to this was the action of the Senate in cutting the heart out of the full employment bill—with the consent of its sponsors. But this is no time for dolorous head-shaking: it is the time to muster every ounce of energy to construct an irresistible coalition of labor, middle-class and farmers to rescue our people from the road that leads to catastrophic 1931 levels.

As we have pointed out, at issue here is maintenance of purchasing power—the crux of reconversion—and the majority of our economic royalists and their congressional puppets turn a deaf ear. And the New York *Times* advises labor to realize that "abnormal wartime conditions" are ended—in other words, it urges supine submission to the industrialists who plot to crush organized labor, to cut wage levels, to shatter democracy's foundations.

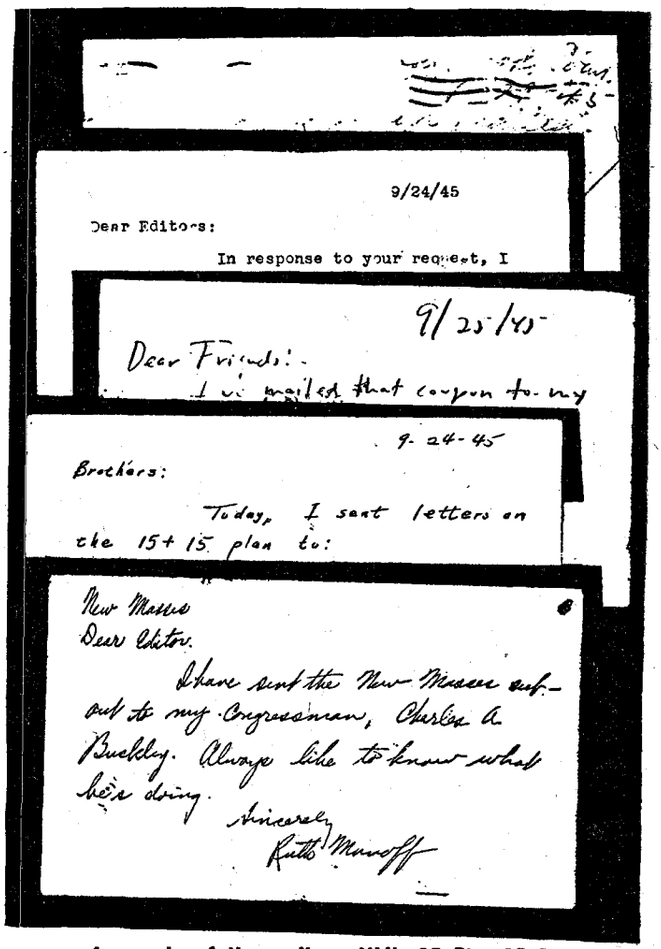
But labor has other ideas: the issues are not academic to the workingman; he confronts them every morning at the breakfast table when he looks at his family. Vast segments of labor's millions are moving into action—and there are indications of a growing unity in deed; the elevator strikers of New York, for example, received the full endorsement of both AFL and CIO. Anybody walking through the garment district of Manhattan would have seen tens of thousands of needle-trades workers on the pavements—they refused to pass the strikers' picket lines. (The issues of that strike, now ended, are to be arbitrated.) In Lancaster, Pa., for instance, where the AFL street-car workers emerged victors after a grueling twenty-seven-day strike, they won—despite police terrorism reminiscent of the early thirties—because they had the backing of all labor—CIO, AFL, and large civic, church and other public bodies. In Detroit, the vast union of the auto workers proceeded to take strike votes, while certain sections negotiated with employers. The workers preferred not to resort to strike, but they were preparing themselves if the monopolists wanted it that way, if the latter refused to come to terms around the negotiating table.

IN VIEW of this surging spirit throughout the land, President Truman called in the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee to express sorrow that "the Senate had let him down" and he didn't expect the House to follow suit. He appealed to them to report out on the floor the unemployment compensation measure—the Forand Bill. He said he still stood by his message to Congress. Many observers felt that this belated expression was far from enough: it did not compensate for his secret message several weeks ago to the Senate that he would not insist upon the totality of the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks measure. That conciliatory, compromising spirit had encouraged the wreckers in Congress to sweep ahead. And to date, they have done their damnedest.

It is high time, NEW MASSES believes—more than high time—that labor's allies swing into motion; that the country see the immediate steps taken toward the formation, in thousands of communities, of local coalitions embodying the unions, the white collar organizations, the church groups, civic bodies—all who expressed their views in their vote for Roosevelt's policies last November. There is encouragement in the attitude of Rep. George E. Outland, of California, who heads a group of 115 House members supporting the Full Employment Bill. Denouncing the "greatly watered down version" which passed the Senate, he expressed conviction that the fight can still be won. "I am calling a meeting of our committee within the week to wage a fight to restore all the original provisions of the bill."

Every Congressman must immediately learn there is a groundswell throughout the country—that the majority of our people realize their livelihood is involved in this giant struggle to maintain buying power. Not only must the legislators feel that, but also the President himself; he must be persuaded to carry the fight to the people.

We believe the CIO points the way with the type of action exemplified last week when 700 of its members from Pennsylvania came down to Congress to lobby for the unemployment compensation bill. And we hold with Robert Lamb, of the CIO's Legislative Committee, speaking for Philip Murray, when he said the fight could be won if the folks back home are mobilized to maximum political action. Along these lines a better future lies.



A sample of the mail on NM's 15 Plus 15 Plan.

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A PEOPLE'S ART IN ENGLAND

By LOUIS HARAP

MAKE good theater, music, art accessible to the people, and the authorities are astonished at the people's response. For our commercialized culture is founded on the self-induced premise that the masses do not "want" them. And so the directors of Britain's CEMA (Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts), government-subsidized organization to provide cultural facilities for the British people during the war, were pleasantly surprised. The CEMA report for 1942-43 couldn't quite get over it. Theater audiences in villages, factory canteens and air raid shelters proved "enthusiastic and intelligent audiences to an extent which confounds some critics." Factory audiences "have been one of the most interesting discoveries of these years." A touring repertory company achieved, "contrary to expectations, great popular successes." The obvious needs and the popular demand revealed by CEMA were so insistent that the British government (before the recent elections) decided to continue CEMA in peacetime as a permanent institution under the new name of the Arts Council of Great Britain.

At the war's outbreak, the dispersion of people in war factories in rural areas and the disruption of the theater and concert hall by the blitz created a major civilian morale problem. While ENSA (Entertainments National Service Association), British equivalent of our USO, provided shows for the armed forces, nothing of the kind existed for civilians. In 1940 a private foundation created CEMA, was aided by a state grant, and in 1942 the government took it over. Grants for the first two years ran about $200,000 annually. In 1942 the sum was raised to about $400,000, and about $60,000 was added the next year. In 1944 the allotment reached about $700,000 but the net cost came to about $100,000 when balanced by CEMA's income.

During the blitz, mobile groups of entertainers and musicians played in air-raid shelters and damaged areas. During the hard winter of 1940-41 sixty parties a week were held in London alone. And throughout the war dramatic companies and art exhibits toured the provinces and concerts were put on in factory canteens, cathedrals, YMCA's, libraries, village inns, and town halls. CEMA was decentralized into twelve regional offices which advised the London headquarters of local needs and possibilities. It took a war to bring the arts to the people, who then promptly and clearly demonstrated that they wanted them.

THE plays presented by the touring companies ran the gamut from Ben Jonson and Shakespeare to the latest Priestley and *Arsenic and Old Lace*. The companies made eight to thirteen-week tours through the towns and factory hostels (living quarters for factory workers in isolated areas). Like our own Federal Theater, they charged low admissions, from twenty-five cents to a dollar. A great part of their audiences had never seen live drama before. "Their genuine interest, together with their spontaneous, intelligent comments on the performances, offer good prospects for the future of the theater," observes a CEMA report.

Actors, too, were stimulated by contact with this receptive new audience. One actress, touring in an eighteenth-century Italian comedy, told me that, despite the fact that, as she said, parts had to be played more broadly for the new audiences, their vitality and responsiveness were gratifying.

With CEMA came a greater sense of national responsibility for the theater. One illustration was the saving from destruction of the fine Theater Royale of Bristol, built in the eighteenth century and one of the oldest in England. When the owner died, the theater was threatened with demolition to make room for a warehouse. CEMA stepped in and bought the theater, which has since earned the purchase price. It now forms a kind of municipal cultural center.

Close cooperation is maintained with the Old Vic, which started as a non-profit workers' theater in a London slum district and is now the finest permanent theater in Britain. When its auditorium was destroyed by the blitz, CEMA saved the organization from dissolution by sending the several companies on tour. These companies have been successful ever since. Associated with the Old Vic and also operating under CEMA's guarantee are the Sadler's Wells Ballet, one of the finest in the world, and the Sadler's Wells Opera. This ballet, as well as the Ballet Jooss and the Ballet Rambert, have considerably widened the audience for the dance by successful tours. In 1944 the Ballet Rambert gave half-hour performances to enthusiastic factory audiences of five to seven thousand.

Equally impressive is CEMA's musical activity. Concerts of high caliber have been provided in villages and factories, as well as cities. In villages and small towns alone during 1942 and 1943, 2,476 concerts were presented to audiences varying between twenty and 1,000, usually with a singer, violinist and pianist. During the same period 4,543 concerts were given in factories to audiences that ran as high as 7,000. In 1944 the concerts given numbered 7,662. CEMA also operates a guarantee system for chamber music groups, string orchestras and full orchestras. During 1942-43 there were twenty-one chamber music subscription clubs performing under CEMA guarantee. Financially successful experience with string orchestras showed that there was a profitable future for such groups. CEMA has guaranteed some of the major English orchestras, among them the Halle Orchestra of Manchester, the Liverpool Philharmonic and the London Philharmonic. In 1944 over 1,000,000 persons attended 772 concerts—many in the provinces—of these three orchestras alone.

In the fine arts CEMA sought to provide important contemporary art within reach of the ordinary purse, as well as to exhibit masterpieces. CEMA purchased contemporary paintings which were sent on tour and gave people an

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opportunity to buy them as well. Lithographs and reproductions were also put on sale at war workers' centers. In 1944, 35,000 prints were sold at factory, army, youth and community centers. A large number of exhibitions were circulated by CEMA in small towns, factory canteens, hostels, libraries, etc. During 1942 about 500,000 persons attended thirty circulating exhibitions. In one city of 43,000 population, a Royal Academy exhibition was attended by 17,000. Fifty exhibitions were circulated during 1944. Consonant with the general progressive trend of CEMA, artists are paid a hiring fee for pictures lent for exhibition, whether or not they are sold.

Especially marked was CEMA's stimulus to local efforts on behalf of the arts. In the wake of CEMA plans rose for permanent local projects. In provincial towns whose theater managers never ventured beyond the variety show, serious plays and ballet are being booked. Factories are making plans for permanent music clubs to satisfy the appetite for good music awakened by CEMA concerts. Local authorities, along with CEMA, are giving their support. The ultimate goal of the Arts Council of Great Britain is "to further the decentralization of the arts and to foster standards in the great provincial centers not less high than those of the metropolis."

The process is cumulative. The final goal is a culture, not of the few, but of the whole people. Experience has shown that this can be attained only by state aid. Britain has taken up the challenge.

Washington please note.

Too Early Lost

THE TASK, *poems by Robert Bhain Campbell. Foreword by Norman Rosten. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.*

When Robert Bhain Campbell died in 1940, not yet thirty years old, a true poet was lost. Though he won an Avery Hopwood Major Poetry Award at the University of Michigan, only three of his poems appeared in magazines, the New Masses among them, during his lifetime. *The Task* contains forty-three poems, introduced by a discriminating foreword by Norman Rosten, the tribute of a friend and a fellow poet.

The Task is the rich poetic record of a man's continual personal growth, of an ever-broadening identification with the central struggles of our time. It is the logbook of a mind striving to grasp "the strugglers clear and what they struggle for." True, the hand of Auden is heavy on some of these creations. Yet it is Auden with a difference. Compare that poet's influence on Campbell and on some of his other contemporaries. In Campbell we have the erudition and technical mastery without the snobbery, the contemporaneity without the neutral pose or the fashionable despair. Campbell assimilated his influences; he was not taken in by them.

For Campbell's best music is uniquely his own. "Of the People and Their Parks" deserves a place in any future anthology of American poetry, as, indeed, do poems like "The People Sing Their Name" ("They build their consciousness into an age."); "On a Hand-loomed Rug" (That bloody beauty's thing that he had made/ With thread and hunger in his shiplap cottage."); the flawless lyric, "I Was Alone" ("You now whisper in my heart of laughter coming,/ Who journey on before me full of songs/ Of all the rivers, lands and heavens coming, . . ."); and "A Letter From the Airport," wherein erudition, contemporaniety, and historical vision are successfully interwoven.

One wishes one could quote "Of the People and Their Parks" in its entirety. Here, only a few lines can be torn from a beautifully realized poem:

From their rooms, apartments, houses, they come here,
At the boundary their hands relaxed as sleep,
To live for an hour in what they own together.

Imperial at the gate they enter, stop,
Regard their estate, and, captured by their claim,
Let fall on the common paths a dreamer's step.

Such lines are not a promise but a singing proof of Robert Campbell's poetic achievement.

Seymour Gregory.

The Greek Story

EAM WHITE BOOK, *published in English by the Greek-American Council. $1.*

It is general knowledge that the Greek People's Liberation Forces (EAM-ELAS) freed Greece from the triple menace of Bulgarian, Italian and German fascism, without any substantial assistance from the Allies, and rendered

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"Just Off the Line," by Robert Benney. From an exhibition of Army medical painting.

in addition important services to the United Nations, especially to Great Britain, yet the royalist elements of the old Metaxas dictatorship were allowed to organize a terroristic campaign to kill the people's liberation movement, split the national coalition and use the might of the British armies against the Greek people. The struggle is dramatically revealed in the *EAM White Book* now published in mimeographed form by the Greek American Council.

The *White Book* opens with the signing of the Lebanon Contract which constituted the legal basis of the Government of National Unity. The Greek government then named General Scobie in command of forces in Greece. The resistance forces accepted his promises: "I will help you to protect your present frontiers until the time when your national forces are in a position to undertake this. Your internal questions do not interest me. Our first aim is to drive the enemy from Greece. Our second aim is to bring supplies and food. Our third aim is to help Greece."

Before the ink was dry on the Lebanon Contract, Premier Papandreou violated the document he himself had read to the delegates. The reactionary right, authorized by General Scobie, seized the state machinery. They postponed arrests and punishments of collaborationists, reappointed officials who had worked openly with the Germans during the occupation and refused to recognize the political equality of the National Resistance Forces. General Scobie himself ordered the immediate dissolution of the EAM.

Without consulting the EAM ministers, Plastiras, staunch enemy of the EAM was appointed regent. He launched a terroristic campaign to exterminate every trace of democratic activity. For thirty-three days Athens was bathed in blood. Under the protection of British tanks, members of fascist organizations fired upon unarmed civilians, women, children and old people. The poorest neighborhoods were annihilated. Factories and hospitals were bombed daily.

The final episode in the *White Book* deals with the Varkiza Agreement which ended hostilities on Feb. 12, 1945, which promised to respect the political conscience of the citizenry, and the liberties proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter and Teheran decisions. This agreement was violated even more barbarously. The British Tory-backed, reactionary state machine unleashed a war of annihilation against EAM-ELAS organizations. The Greek people were riddled by machine-guns, strafed by planes, shelled and ridden down by tanks. Greek prisoners of war, women, children, the old, infirm and insane endured atrocities worse than in the German concentration camps. The record of the Churchill-Eden visit in Athens is the most shameful double-dealing episode in a series of foul trickeries practiced against an ally.

The *White Book* comes at an opportune time. Today, Voulgaris who has openly admitted that he is a fascist, continues his terroristic campaign to prevent democratic elections. Fifteen thousand Greek anti-fascists are still prisoners. The Voulgaris government continues to slander and malign the Greek people in the eyes of democratic peoples everywhere. Prime Minister Attlee himself admitted: "It is precisely the fault of the extreme right that the political crisis has not been solved by a method worthy of Greece." This illuminating and very readable historical document should be widely read. For Greece today is the testing ground for all liberation movements.

RAE DALVEN.

Endorsed & Recommended

THE CHAIN OF COMMAND, *by Barrie Stavis. Bernard Ackerman. $1.*

IF YOU have ever been in any army anywhere in the world, then you know what the chain of command is. If you haven't, you should be able to figure out what it means by the words themselves. Organization is the basis of any army and it tends to become static, ossified, petrified.

Our Army is no exception. An Idea, an Order, a Requisition, a Request, a Question, a Piece of Information, a Directive must go "through channels" before any action can be taken. If the Idea, Order, Requisition, etc. originates on top, it goes all the way down and back up again. If it originates at the bottom, it goes all the way to the top before it is acted upon, and may very well get lost in the shuffle, as it is duly Annotated, Endorsed, Recommended, Disapproved, Signed, Countersigned—or ignored on the way.

You get the idea. It is sometimes called red tape. Does it strike you as a dull subject? There is none duller in the dullest of all armies, wherever it may be based. And to be a part of the chain of command, for one thing, you have to be firmly grounded in Military Correspondence, which has rules and regulations that "The Complete Letter Writer" never envisioned in his wildest nightmares.

Nevertheless, out of this dismal wilderness of Army "paper work" Barrie Stavis—former T/Sgt. Barrie Stavis 32526086—has emerged with one of the most amusing short narratives of World War II. He conceived this satirical fable (out of sheer desperation, no doubt) while acting as Sergeant Major of Plans and Training at Camp Edison, New Jersey. And he executed it while lying flat on his back in a general hospital.

This is amazing enough, I submit. But it is all the more amazing when you consider that Mr. Stavis is a playwright whose pre-war work bore no slightest hint of his considerable talents as a satirist. (So you can see what this

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people's war did to people, can't you?)

Would you like to know what *The Chain of Command* is about? All I can say is that Major Jefferson was a bright young man. That one day, in the Pentagon Building in Washington, he walked into a latrine and he got a bright Idea. How bright the Idea was, you will have to let Stavis tell you. But I can say that rarely will you find the manner of a book so perfectly wedded to its subject-matter.

Sgt. (once Private) Marion Hargrove has written a brilliantly appropriate foreword for this little book, and Sgt. Leonard Sansone has provided it with appropriately insane illustrations. *The Chain of Command* will stretch from here to there, and enmesh in its length millions of laughing people.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Blow by Blow

MANY A WATCHFUL NIGHT, *by John Mason Brown. Whittlesey House. $2.75.*

AT VALLEY FORGE doughty old Steuben had discovered that "the genius of this people is that one must first explain—and then give the order." John Mason Brown, dramatic critic, serving in the Navy, helped do the explaining, for he acted as a lecturer, a sort of ringside announcer giving the men of his ship a blow-by-blow description over the public address system as the fleet went into action. These broadcasts were collected into his first war book, *To All Hands.*

Many a Watchful Night covers the preparations and the background for the Normandy invasion in which he was also a participant, and ends on the first days and nights of the cross-channel attack, with comments on Americans in wartime England in between.

This book lacks the punch of *To All Hands,* but it has humor, tenderness, depth of feeling, insight, and though he uses words with velvet around the handle, Brown can be sharp. There is a witty and, in a way, a very pathetic chapter about fogbound Shaw whom not even Marx ever really made a man of; an unforgettable picture of Gen. Omar Bradley, such a welcome contrast to MacArthur; and a glowing tribute to the gallantry of the English, spoiled by this egg: "The aristocrats, though curtailed in their estates, were not worried about the future. They had possessions within themselves which they could not lose and which the country valued. Once again they had met wholeheartedly their responsibilities as the government."

Can Brown forget so quickly how they had met those responsibilities in their war-breeding appeasement of fascism? Those very aristocrats are dibbling at this very moment the seeds of another world catastrophe.

BEN FIELD.

A Traveler Reports

JOURNEY THROUGH CHAOS, *by Victor Alexandrov. Foreword by Upton Sinclair. Crown. $3.*

NO ONE who has seen the Soviet film *The Road to Life* can forget the picture it presents of the "wild boys" of Civil War Russia—the hungry thieving, resourceful children of a world being torn up for repairs. Victor Alexandrov was such a boy, starving and stealing his way from the Caucasus to Finland; and he went on to become, in essence, a "wild boy" of a Europe in upheaval between two wars. Particularly vivid is his description of the Germany he starved in, in the twenties, when the Nazis made their movement attractive by offering a mark a day and free beer. He joined up but saw through the ". . . veil of mysticism—or, possibly, mystification—cast over ugly features in the Party's program to disguise and make them alluring. . . . I was later to gain more insight than I had at this time into proletarian methods and aims. With the advantage of that insight I can look back and recognize the superior heroism of the young men who at this time were joining, not the National Socialist, but the Democratic front."

He himself was on the side of the Democratic Front when the showdown came, and bashed in Nazi heads rather than Communist. A son of White Russian parents, who in exile made their natural alliances with reactionaries of all countries and who pinned their hopes on Denikin, he never forgot that it was the Red Army rather than the Whites who had befriended him as a boy; and as he matured he gained increasing understanding of the events through which he had passed. A man without a passport, without a license to exist, he was thrown into Polish, Italian and Greek prisons, drafted into the Greek army; he worked as a bootblack, a spy's chauffeur, a seaman, a cabdriver, and finally as a journalist in Greece and later in France, Spain and Czechoslovakia, where he witnessed the strangling of Loyalist Spain and the Munich-death of Czechoslovakia.

The story Alexandrov has to tell helps us to understand much of what is happening in Europe today. Whether

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all the adventures described in the first person singular actually happened to him is not important; his romance with the beautiful Polish countess, for instance, has a few too many coincidences and international twists to be credible. However, the story is vital and revealing, and if its Hollywood touches help get it to a few thousand extra readers, perhaps it's all to the good.

BETTY MILLARD.

Jim Crow at the Front

THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES, *by Seymour J. Schoenfeld. Associated Publishers, Washington. $1.10.*

THIS is a significant little volume. It makes a clear-cut demand for the "complete integration of the Negro in the armed forces," and it comes from the pen of a Lieutenant-Commander in the Navy of the United States, with a supporting and forthright introduction by a Colonel in the Marine Corps—Evans Fordyce Carlson—and an enthusiastic blurb by an American cabinet member —Henry A. Wallace.

The author summarizes succinctly and correctly the findings of the best historical, anthropological, and sociological researches on the Negro. He adds confirmatory and most interesting data from his own personal experiences derived from twenty-two months' service aboard a combat-loaded transport ("Jim Crow," he writes, "never rides a landing craft to an enemy beach"), and so, inevitably, comes to his unequivocal demand for absolute equality in the rights, duties and privileges of the Negro soldier, sailor and marine.

Very considerable advances were made along these lines in the course of the war against fascism (some of which are enumerated here), most notably the use of mixed units in the front lines in the days of the Bulge and the smashing offensive that followed. These came because of necessity and agitation. The advances must be held and expanded. The necessity remains and will remain. Let us not neglect the agitation. Lieutenant-Commander Schoenfeld has provided additional ammunition.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

The Nazis in Poland

CALL US TO WITNESS: *a Polish Chronicle, by Hania and Gaither Warfield. Ziff-Davis. $3.*

AN AMERICAN Methodist preacher and his Polish-born wife describe their experiences in Poland, Soviet Russia and Germany, in the crucial pe-

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riod from the invasion of Poland (September 1939) to June 1942, when the United States and Russia signed their lend-lease agreement. Protected by their official status, the Warfields could observe the horrors against Jews and Christian Poles.

This volume has a special value as the testimony not of victims but of privileged observers. It confirms all detailed records of German *Schrecklichkeit* to be found in the various Black Books. Appealing naively to the Nazis' "humanity," the Warfields received such answers as "Our Fuehrer has promised us to wipe out this vermin and prosperity and peace will then reign forever in the world," or "we Germans do not need friends." Unfortunately the authors suffer from the anti-Soviet prejudice frequent in clerics. That blind spot is all the more puzzling in the light of Mrs. Warfield's explanation to a friend: "Don't you see that when nations value comfort more than freedom, prosperity more than human rights, peace more than justice, they have lost the right to exist? Don't you see that we must be ready to sacrifice and suffer? Our great enemy is not war, pain, and death but aloof indifference." It was not the Soviets who were indifferent when the fascist conquest of Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain challenged the democracies; and in the final struggle, no nation sacrificed or suffered so much.

ALBERT WIENER.

More Koestler

TWILIGHT BAR, *by Arthur Koestler. MacMillan. $2.00.*

KOESTLER says in his preface that he began this cynically pessimistic and "escapist" play in 1933, in Moscow, where he had just arrived as an enrolled Communist to write a book about the Five-Year Plan. This autobiographic note makes clear that his later actions were no "disillusionment" but the continuation of an ingrained cynicism. He had "the guilty feeling" then, he writes, "of a schoolboy drawing obscene pictures on the blackboard." Readers will agree that he still has cause for that guilty feeling. The play as presented here, in a new version twelve years after the lost original, is an attempt at a Shavian ironic fantasy that falls flatter than any imitation of the great G.B.S. I have ever seen. Its theme is the plight of our planet when a better world that has become irritated with our vast, reeking misery gives the earth a three-day ultimatum to become happier. The play proves to be dull, trivial and tasteless; the apologetic preface is entirely in order.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Brief Reviews

THE MORAL CONQUEST OF GERMANY, *by Emil Ludwig. Doubleday Doran. $2.*

THIS book is an inorganic mixture containing (1) a rehash in topical paragraphs of Ludwig's books on Goethe, the Germans, etc.; (2) ludicrous generalizations about the "German character" as suffering from an original predisposition towards evil and requiring therefore subjection to "moral conquest"; and (3) some sensible comments on a practical program for Germany.

The latter part is obviously inconsistent with the rest. Here Ludwig writes of German cosmopolitans, such as Goethe, Beethoven and others, and condemns the "petty bourgeois" Social Democracy which killed "two genuine heroes of the German Revolution, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg." His program for German reorganization is more than "moral." It calls for total disarmament, supervision of its government, separation of Prussia from the rest of Germany and destruction of its industrial machine; it urges that "open preference" be given to workers, and that leaders be sought among the liberated inmates of concentration camps. By 1960, he thinks, Germany would thereby be ready for "a world of international security. . . . Fifteen million German young people will do away with the way of the oldsters, as Russian youth has done in the course of the past twenty years." It is unfortunate that Ludwig mars his realistic program by a blind anthropology and exaggerated generalizations.

ARTIE GREENGROIN, PFC., *by Pvt. Harry Brown. Knopf. $2.50.*

ARTIE GREENGROIN is familiar to readers of *Yank* as a kind of garrulous and supremely confident Sad Sack. The resemblance ends with the fact that both characters are always getting it in the neck. The more Sad Sack tries to be a good soldier, the more he is punished by a perverse Army fate, whereas Artie is more sinning than sinned against and usually deserves what he gets. Moreover, when Artie is not in the guardhouse, he often gets to be Pfc., an exalted rank denied to Sgt. George Baker's eternal private. Pvt. Harry Brown's humor is repetitious, but his Greengroin vignettes will amuse servicemen and civilians alike.

THE ANNIHILATION OF MAN, *by Leslie Paul. Harcourt Brace. $2.50.*

DESPITE its pretentious title and subtitles, this book by a British soldier is primarily a review of historical events and movements in our war period. It swerves unsteadily between a condemnation of fascism for being anti-Christian, and the admission that wars are due to industrial factors. Likewise, it criticizes Marxism as a "theology," and the Soviet Revolution as "national," while conceding the possibility of "a peaceful unaggressive future for the totalitarianism of Russia." The main thesis (based on the undigested theory in Drucker's *End of the Economic Man*) is that our problems are moral, and that the hope for resolving the Western crisis lies in a non-materialistic religion.

Worth Noting

THE world of culture suffered losses last week in the death of the great Hungarian modernist composer, Bela Bartok, to whom the new democratic Hungary paid tribute by electing him deputy to its parliament; and the Austrian Jewish poet, Dr. Richard Beer-Hofmann, who received an award, early this year, from the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

SYLVIA SHIRLEY, a young New York housewife who had been both a factory and an office worker before her mariage, and Sgt. Harry Alter, who had been a steel worker in Youngstown before his induction, were among the prizewinners in a short story contest held by the *Daily World*, San Francisco labor paper. Judges included Albert Maltz, Ring Lardner, Jr., A. I. Besserides, Prof. James R. Caldwell of the University of California, C. S. Forester and Wilma Shore. There's another prize the winners could be shooting for: the current NEW MASSES story contest with $100 for the first prize.

THE violinist Max Polikoff, who is one of the performers at our John Reed Memorial meeting, is appearing in a recital at Town Hall (New York) on October 21. One of the works to be played at the recital will be Prokofiev's new violin concerto.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

EXIT HAYS, ENTER JOHNSTON

By JOSEPH FOSTER

RECENTLY, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., announced that it had elected as its president Eric A. Johnston, president of the US Chamber of Commerce, to succeed Will H. Hays. This move of the MPPDA, better known as the Hays Office, aroused a great deal of speculation, especially since it was generally felt that Johnston was not the kind of office boy that Hays was. Did it mean that big business was muscling into a more direct control of the content of films? Was the code to be streamlined to meet the needs of a more advanced world? Was it a move to snuggle up to the State Department for a better deal on foreign markets? Was Hays utzed out to quiet the cry of stinking fish arising over the operation of his office? Johnston attempted to answer these speculations in his acceptance speech by setting down a catalogue of intentions; but before I go into that, I would like to dip briefly into the Hays Office history.

Will H. Hays resigned his job as Postmaster General in the Harding Cabinet when the MPPDA was set up in 1922, and was the office's only incumbent for more than twenty-two years. Up to the first world war the movies, shown in the nickelodeons to working class audiences, were snubbed by our more refined citizens. After the war the big money became interested, and the movies embarked upon a career as a ranking industry. Movie palaces as we know them today did not yet exist, but the nickelodeons began to give way to fancier, cleaner, more commodious showhouses.

At this point the sentinels of "decency" began to be concerned with the morals of the defenseless public, and made the content of films their business. Of course, the fact that the movies of those days often used to show the cupidity of bankers and loan sharks, evils of bad housing, corruption in politics, swindling by monopolies in coal, traction, insurance, utilities, etc., may have had something to do with this censorious urge. The motion picture producers countered with the move to set up a body of self-censorship or self-discipline, and the Hays Office was born.

The regulations whereby the moral content of films was to be judged were published as the Production Code. The code opposes crime, wrong-doing, evil and sin. In particular, it warns against a detailed showing of murder, smuggling, arson, robbery, adultery, rape and other illicit activities lest some innocent customer take it as instruction in such activities. It is very explicit about "passion," which should never be treated in a manner "to stimulate the lower and baser emotions"; kisses should never be "excessively lustful." It is rumored that in the early days the Hays Office used to pull a stop-watch on a kiss. If it lasted beyond a certain length of time, the "lust" was excessive. The code puts its foot down on films showing white (but not black) slavery, miscegenation, sex hygiene, the sex organs of children, profanity, vulgarity, indecent exposure, and offensive language.

I detail these regulations at such length only to show the wide latitude under which any codemaster can operate. It is true, of course, that the emotional slop in so many films that is supposed to represent adult treatment of man-woman relationships is the direct fruit of the Production Code, but what is to prevent political censorship under any one of the above thou-must-nots? Who is to say, in respect to a banned film favorable to trade unions, for instance, that it wasn't the profane (read strong) language of the union organizer, but his politics that was responsible for the action? And who can say, in a film showing a group of raggedly dressed kids as the victims of fascism, that it was the exposure of their behinds rather than the message of the film that caused it to be shelved? Or who can be sure that the rule that a Nazi in civilian clothes cannot be killed is a merciful desire to spare an audience the sight of spilled blood rather than an objection to anti-Nazi victories? Nothing can be specifically proved, although it is obvious to a one-eyed astigmatic that the Hays Office has become not an office but a technique of suppression, of both ideas and sentiments, call them moral or call them political. It is rumored, strongly, that the MPPDA became the boneyard of many an important film, from *It Can't Happen Here* to the more recent *Cargo of Innocents*, dealing with the fate of Spanish children under Franco rule.

AND now we have Mr. Eric Johnston. Conscious of the demands of the time the Chamber of Commerce president has issued a credo in the spirit of progress. He is attracted to the motion picture industry, he avows, because it offers unlimited opportunity to work for peace and prosperity at home and abroad. It has a potential power for good as well as for evil, and the assumption is that he is for eliminating the evil. The motion picture can promote understanding and friendship among nations, and reflect the American design of living by faithfully portraying the natural forces of day-to-day life around us. Mr. Johnston says further that he is for unity among all the workers in the industry and for cooperation between the craft unions and guilds with the producers. He wants industrial democracy. (Hays was also for industrial democracy. He proclaimed last year that "industrial democracy can no longer be taken for granted. It must be defended.") Johnston intends to see that the industry promotes better understanding in labor-management relations; that it contributes to enlightened leadership, to an ever-rising standard of living. He touches on the fact that "other political and economic systems in the world . . . different than ours . . . have mass appeal, especially during periods of industrial strife and stagnation." He is therefore assuredly opposed to strife and stagnation.

All this looks very proper on paper, so much so that the Strike Strategy Committee of the current Hollywood strike asked him, in the name of unity and of the elimination of strife and stagnation, to help settle the strike. The committee has had no answer as yet.

Mr. Johnston unfortunately has made no comments on the code itself. Are

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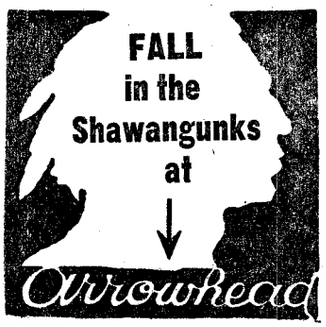

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the ridiculous regulations governing sex hygiene, mixed marriages, etc., to remain? Will his application of the rules follow the idiotic pattern of his predecessor? He will have to grapple with that problem soon. David O. Selznick has called the regulations a "horse and buggy production code." Dissatisfaction with the MPPDA has caused the withdrawal of Warners, United Artists and numerous independents from the association. And beyond this, if Johnston wants life around us portrayed in terms of natural and realistic forces, if he wants human laws protected by respecting the laws of human behavior, he will have to come across with something more specific than he has given out thus far.

FOLLOWING is a letter that I have written to Mr. Johnston. "Dear Mr. Johnston: I have read, with great interest, your statement following your acceptance of the presidency of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. It is of importance to all people interested in the motion picture industry because it promises to go far beyond the limited and outworn position of the office before your election as its head.

"But your statement raises a need for specific elaboration. Do you intend to make any changes in the Production Code itself? Many of its regulations would hamper a program of full education that you envisage for the future role of the movies. At present, your office represents only the interests and viewpoint of the producers. Is it your intention, with respect to your admirable desire to promote harmony between the producers and the crafts and guilds, to appoint advisers from among these crafts and guilds, in order to avoid strife and stagnation? Will you make some statement on how the films should treat our minorities? I am especially interested in your point of view on this subject, particularly since it is one of your aims to promote peace internally as well as harmony between us and foreign countries.

"There are many more specific questions, raised by your own forward-looking statement, that people would like to see elaborated upon. However, we are chiefly concerned, at the moment, with the few questions in this letter.

"May we hear from you soon? Our readers would be most appreciative of an answer."

JOSEPH FOSTER.

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State of New York)
County of New York) ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lottie Gordon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of the New Masses and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1945. MORRIS H. GRUBMAN
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Paths for Psychoanalysis

(*Continued from page 16*)

chanical to overlook the intricacies involved in this dependency. Although adult personality patterns are not rigidly fixed, it must be recognized that mature individuals have acquired a personality of their own, related to biological endowment, past experiences, ideological influences, varying individual and social pressures, long-range individual and group needs, and condition of health, in addition to their immediate social situation. Moreover, their personality makes them react to their social situation in many complex and often contrary and bewildering ways. It is the main task of analysis to reveal these influences and to relieve the bewilderment that is characteristic of the neurotic development, so that effective action can follow. The complexity of the processes involved is, however, too often exaggerated. Most people are going to get relief from their unhappy conflicts by a change in their social relationships and social functions; even the analyzed patients will not escape the necessity of maintaining wholesome social relationships too. The transition to wholesomeness may be rather difficult for some people, and practically impossible for a few, unless there are strong incentives for doctor or patient or both to expend the time, care and patience required for the change.

These broad considerations are intended to apply to the generality of people, and not to the exceptional few. The great prevalence of anxiety emphasized by one contemporary psychoanalytic school is surely the reflection of the sense of insecurity that isolated individuals must feel in a society that is at times too harshly competitive. The correct antidote is a consolidation of social feeling with these broad sections of our population that have the need for real social solidarity. The mere activity of participation in cooperative work for socially useful ends is therapeutic. It creates moreover the preconditions for a successful advance of our democracy to larger social objectives. It is only the realization of these social objectives that can secure full happiness and mental health to our people. Psychoanalysis after a long and devious detour must again base itself on these fundamentals which it sought for a while to evade.

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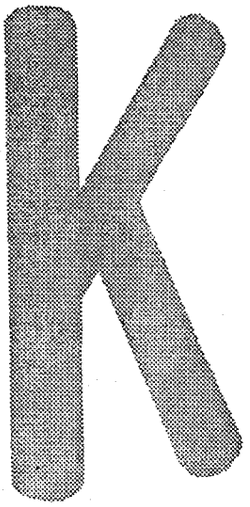

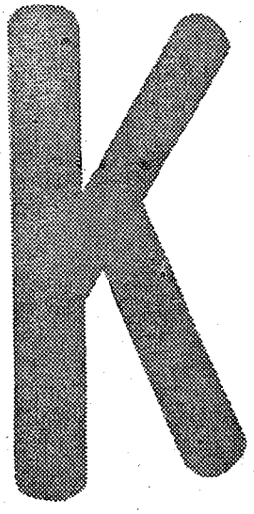

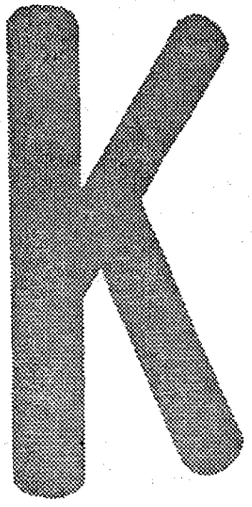

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